FBIS DAILY REPORT

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WARSAW PACT COMMANDER KULIKOV ARRIVES 8 MAR

AU081927 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, arrived in our country today at the invitation of Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense.

At Sofia Airport, Marshal Kulikov was welcomed by Comrade Dobri Dzhurov, Col Gen Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Military-Administrative Department; Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; Col Gen Kiril Kosev, head of the People's Army Main Political Administration; deputy ministers of the Bulgarian Defense Ministry and officers and generals from the People's Army.

Nikita Tolubeyev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to Bulgaria, and Col Gen Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, were also among those present at the airport, accompanied by military attaches from socialist countries. Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov was received with military honors.

U.S. 'SAFE PASS' CARIBBEAN EXERCISE SCORED

AU081626 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 8 Mar 82

[BTA observer Todor Stoyanov commentary: "Those Speaking of Threat are Threatening!"]

[Text] Sofia, 8 Mar (BTA) -- Without being new for the U.S. policy, this formula has a new manifestation: The "Safe Pass-82" manoeuvres in the Caribbean basin and the Mexico Bay. New is also the circumstance that the naval forces of the Atlantic union unfold for exercises far from the coasts of Europe. This fact materializes the philosophy of U.S. militarism for permanent expanding of the NATO range. Reagan and his first aides of the military sphere and diplomacy have been recently exploiting very energetically the subject of the Cuban threat as a reason for escalation of the tension. Small Cuba was forced on the minds of the credulous as the "great danger for the Western Hemisphere."

The "Safe Pass-82" manoeuvres beginning today are a demonstration of force at the doors of Socialist Cuba. They are a fresh proof of the fact that the U.S. policy continues to drift along the stream of militarism. Those speaking of threat are threatening! This is how one should brand the new militarist show in the Caribbean area and the Mexico Bay. The deployment of war fleets threatens Cuba in the first place. And if she is nothing more than an alleged threat for the Western Hemisphere, the war armada of the Atlantic union near her coasts is a real threat for the revolutionary country. And not only for Cuba, but also for the Central American countries such as Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, which, after Cuba's example, would like to free themselves once and for all from the U.S. political, military and economic tutelage.

The "Safe Pass-82" which is attended by warships of the USA, Canada, the Netherlands, Belgium, Britain and the FRG, has a clearcut counter-revolutionary aim. In an area where the tension is a sign of the socioplitical situation anyway, the NATO manoeuvres are stepping up the tension.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES DEPARTING KAMPUCHEAN ENVOY

AU081846 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, received Meas Samnang, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to Bulgaria, on the occasion of his forthcoming, final departure from our country.

Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, attended the meeting.

PETUR MLADENOV ARRIVES IN SWEDEN 8 MARCH

AU082100 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, arrived in the Kingdom of Sweden tonight, at the invitation of Ola Ullsten, minister of foreign affairs of Sweden. At Stockholm Airport, which was decorated with the national flags of Bulgaria and Sweden, the highranking guest was welcomed by the Swedish minister of foreign affairs and by other officials.

As Lyubomir (Kataletov), BTA special correspondent, reports from the Swedish capital, Swedish mass media are demonstrating great interest in Petur Mladenov's visit. Radio and television, as well as all other media are carrying reports on his visit. Political observers in Stockholm are of the opinion that a constructive Bulgarian-Swedish dialogue is to be expected on bilateral relations, as well as on international issues which are of interest to both countries.

ZHIVKOV, EVREN 24 FEB DINNER TOASTS REPORTED

AU250913 Sofia BTA in English 0300 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Report on speeches delivered by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and by Army Gen Kenan Evren, head of state of Turkey, delivered at 24 February Sofia dinner]

[Text] Sofia, 25 Feb (BTA) -- Yesterday Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, stressed that there exists no problem between Bulgaria and Turkey which cannot be solved through a sincere and honest dialogue. There exists no problem, which could stand an obstacle to their relations of goodneighbourliness.

At the dinner which he gave for the head of state of Turkey Army General Kenan Evren, Mr Todor Zhivkov said that for years now the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey are prospering. We, Mr Todor Zhivkov, went on, regard your visit as a natural continuation of the constructive policy of the leaders of the two countries, which seeks to strengthen trust, understanding, goodneighbourliness and mutually advantageous cooperation.

The Bulgarian leader noted the good development of the economic, scientific and technological and cultural relations between the two countries. He emphasized that the possibilities for expanding and deepending bilateral relations in various spheres were far from exhausted. The economic relations, said Mr Todor Zhivkov, should be raised to that level which corresponds to the potential of the economy of the two countries and to the advantages offered by their geographical proximity and their location as a bridge between three continents.

Under today's complicated, strained and explosion-prone international situation, said Mr Todor Zhivkov, there is no more urgent task than the task of preserving peace, than the task of avoiding a thermonuclear war. Today, he went on, it is of extraordinary significance that the process of political detente as outlined by the conference on security and cooperation in Europe should continue, that the principles and the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki should be strictly observed and applied. "Under a constructive approach applied by all the participants in the Madrid meeting the latter can and must end in success, can and must adopt new decisions for the strengthening and expansion of political detente, for convening a conference to deal with the problems of military detente and disarmament in Europe" said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

He said that Bulgaria stands for the limitation, reduction and final dismantling of nuclear weapons in Europe and fully supports the proposals of the Soviet Union made at the Geneva negotiations, because they pave the way to the settlement of the problem of nuclear medium-range weapons on the continent in accordance with the principle for equality and equal security.

Dwelling on the situation in the Middle East, Mr Todor Zhivkov said that the sole way of solving the disputed issues is the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab lands, the recognition of the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination and the foundation of a state of their own, and the guaranteeing of the security of the states in the region.

Bulgaria, he said, supports the idea for an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, the Palestine Liberation Organization included.

The Bulgarian leader noted that the Cyprus issue should find a peaceful and just solution keeping intact the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-alignment of Cyprus in compliance with the interests of the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots.

Mr Todor Zhivkov recalled once more his proposal on signing bilateral agreements with the neighbouring states, including a goodneighbourliness code, renunciation of territorial claims and non-use of the territories of these countries for hostile action against each other, as well as the proposal to hold a meeting of the leaders of the Balkan states in Sofia on the question of making the Balkans a nuclear-free zone.

In his speech the Turkish head of state Kenan Evren underlined that the development of Bulgaro-Turkish cooperation is a positive contribution not only to the two countries, but to the relations of friendship and cooperation in the Balkans. We, said he, are sincerely willing to have harmonious relations in our region, thus the Balkans will contribute to European peace and stability.

Between our two countries, he went on to say further, is dominating respect to independence, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, non-use of force or of threat with force in settling the international disputes. "The tension in international relations of recent years is due to the violation of these principles. The violation or insufficient respect for the principles underlying the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act impair the feeling of mutual security and understanding between the countries, which are striving for their achievement", said General Kenan Evren. We wish, underlined General Kenan Evren, that the process, which has started with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, will continue. We believe that the continuation of this process will assist in reducing the hotbeds of tension, both in Europe and the other regions of the world.

The Turkish leader stressed that the arms race of recent years has unfolded on a great scale and, along with the threats it poses to mankind, is a great burden for the economic potential of all small and big countries. Along with this, he went on further, the preservation of international security under the present conditions is linked to a great extent with retaining a stable balance of forces between the East and the West. That is why it is very important to make efforts for a balanced, controlled and considerable limitation and reduction of the nuclear and conventional weapons and for creating a system of measures to increase security. General Kenan Evren expressed hope that the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union in Geneva will have a positive outcome in their due term and that the two countries will approach constructively the negotiations on reducing the strategical weapons.

Dwelling on international terrorism, he stressed that effective struggle against it could be waged only through joint cooperation of all the governments.

Analyzing the situation in the Middle East, General Evren said that Turkey regards with anxiety and regret the persistent and provocational policy of fait accompli pursued by Israel. Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 and granting the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people are irrevocable elements of a peaceful and just settling of the Middle East problem.

The Turkish leader underlined that the just solving of the Cyprus issue is possible only along lines of intercommunity negotiations under the control of the U.N. secretary general. "Turkey is determined to continue her line of support of negotiations between the communities", said he.

On the occasion of his official visit to Bulgaria General Kenan Evren was decorated with the "Stara Planina" order with ribbon before the official dinner.

COLOTKA, HAVLIN SPEAK AT SLOVAK WRITERS CONGRESS

Colotka Speech

AU042120 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, at the fourth congress of the Slovak Writers Union in Bratislava on 2 March -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] We have listened with interest to the opening speech and the report of the state of literature and the activity of the Slovak Writers Union. Openly stated, the submitted balance sheet must fill you, the active creators, as well as the extensive community of readers of Slovak literature, with a good feeling. After all, pondering precisely this, without exaggeration, wealthy balance sheet, we recall the "prophecies" of our political and ideological adversaries, who after the failure of their counter-revolutionary plans in our country in 1968 were proclaiming that writers and other members of the creative front would not support the new leadership of our party, that we were in danger of cultural darkness, as they put it -- in danger of some sort of "Biafra of the spirit."

Today, with the distance of years, we are witnesses -- and you the cocreators -- of a new stream of artistic values that can be rightly depicted as the socialist renaissance of our culture.

Esteemed comrades, we are pleased that THE MAJORITY OF OUR LITERARY AND OF THE ARTISTIC FRONT IN GENERAL, LINKING UP WITH THE PIONEERING SOCIALIST TRADITIONS, ENRICHED BY THE EXPERIENCE OF THE YEARS OF CRISIS, ARE FIRMLY STANDING ON THE POSITIONS OF SOCIALISM. WE ARE PLEASED THAT OUR WRITERS -- PARTICULARLY BY THEIR COMMITTED WORK AND BY FORMULATING THE THEMES OF OUR PAST AND PRESENT -- ARE EXPRESSING THEIR CORESPONSIBILITY FOR FORMING THE FUTURE OF OUR NATIONS AND OUR PEOPLE, FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE MATERIAL AS WELL AS SPIRITUAL WEALTH OF AN ADVANCED SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

OUR LIFE IN THE PAST DECADE CONVINCES US OF THE EGREGIOUS DECEPTION OF THOSE WHO, AT VARIANCE WITH PROVEN HISTORICAL FACTS, WERE IMPUDENTLY ASSERTING THAT SOCIALISM HAS NOT SOLVED A SINGLE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE OF OUR NATIONS. HOWEVER, IN THEIR "DEMOCRATIC PHILANTHROPHY" THEY WERE SO LITTLE ORIGINAL THAT THEY WERE OFFERING US AS ALTERNATIVE MODERN "MODELS" SUCH SOLUTIONS WHICH WERE ALREADY TRIED OUT IN OUR NATIONS' PAST -- AND TO EXPRESS IT ACCURATELY -- THESE WERE COMPROMISED AND FAILED.

THE [existing] GOOD ATMOSPHERE, THE TRUST OF THE PARTY AND OF THE ENTIRE SOCIETY IN OUR CREATIVE FRONT -- AND I BELIEVE THAT THIS RELATIONSHIP IS MUTUAL -- WILL CERTAINLY YIELD FURTHER POSITIVE RESULTS. A GENUINE SOCIALIST WRITER-CREATOR DOES NOT STAND ABOVE SOCIETY, BUT ALWAYS IN ITS MIDST. ONE HAS TO APPRECIATE THAT THE SLOVAK WRITERS UNION RESOLUTELY OPPOSES THE HAUGHTY ELITISM WHICH WAS MANIFESTED IN THE YEARS OF CRISIS BY SOME AUTHORS -- FORTUNATELY NOT BY THE LEADING PERSONALITIES OF OUR LITERATURE AND NOT TO ANY GREATER EXTENT.

Regarding the preservation of ideopolitical stability, not only in view of the past period, but even more because of the needs of the present and future, we must return to the known lesson from our society's crisis development, for its content is always a topical, sharp weapon against smuggling into our ranks ideology alien to socialism. I do not think I have to convince you that our adversary abroad, but also our domestic adversary who cannot always be identified, is striving to do just that. After all, this is his only opportunity to weaken or destabilize socialist order in any socialist country. The recent developments in neighboring Poland are convincing evidence of the ideodiversionary endeavors of the enemies of socialism.

In this fraternal socialist country -- as a result of the underestimation of the ideo-political struggle against the class enemy, and in a situation connected with economic problems which the former party and state leadership did not master -- an immediate threat has occurred to socialism and international brotherhood, which link the Polish People's Republic with the rest of the countries of the socialist community. With resolute measures, the Military Council of National Salvation, with Comrade Jaruzelski at its head, thwarted the completion of the disintegration of socialism in that country, and we all know very well how much political, ideological as well as organizational-economic work, including the comprehensive assistance of the socialist countries, will be needed to consolidate the socialist development in that country, which suffered so much throughout history. We want to hope that despite all the difficulties, multiplied by the ferocious attacks of the imperialist clan headed by U.S. President Reagan, and at the price of a dearly paid lesson, the Polish working man will see through the cunning game of his enemies at home and abroad who -- under the false slogans of the democratization of life -- wanted to foist upon him a regime so sadly known in the experience of the Polish nation -- bourgeois-feudal order.

Regarding the preservation of our people's life in peace -- which, understandably, is inseparably connected with the preservation of peace in Europe and throughout the world -- the recent development of events, particularly since U.S. President Reagan took office, signal that it is seriously threatened by the most reactionary forces of world imperialism. What these forces want is nothing less than, through feverish armament and the threat of thermonuclear war, to turn back the wheel of history to such an extent as to get the whole world under their control or domination. I do not think that there is a need to elaborate that these objectives count on the defeat of the countries of real socialism in the first place, immediately followed by the subjugation of the former colonial countries by foreign exploiters.

WELL, THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE NUCLEAR HAWKS ARE ONE THING AND THE FEASIBILITY OF THEIR OBJECTIVES QUITE ANOTHER. THE STRATEGISTS OF IMPERIALISM THEMSELVES KNOW THAT THEIR HAZARDOUS PLANS TO UNLEASH A THIRD WORLD WAR ARE ENCOUNTERING THE RESISTENCE OF THE POWERFUL CAMP OF PEACEFUL FORCES ALL OVER THE WORLD. THE MOST IMPORTANT OBSTACLE FOR THE AUTHORS OF THE "SCENARIO" OF THE HORRIFYING APOCALYPSE OF THE HUMAN RACE IS THE MORAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND, FINALLY, MILITARY POTENTIAL OF THE USSR. ITS HIGHEST PARTY AND STATE REPRESENTATIVE, THE UNTIRING FIGHTER FOR PEACE L.I. BREZHNEV, SAID AT THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS AND ON VARIOUS OTHER OCCASIONS IN A CLEAR LANGUAGE THAT THE SOVIET UNION, BEING LOYAL TO ITS PEACE POLICY, IS READY TO RESIST BY ALL MEANS THE CRIMINAL DESIGNS OF THE NUCLEAR LUNATICS. THE SAME GOAL IS PURSUED BY THE POLICY OF THE OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, INCLUDING OUR REPUBLIC. THE IMPERIALIST CIRCLES SEE, AFTER ALL, THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE PEACE-LOVING FORCES OF MANKIND ALL OVER THE WORLD ARE TAKING AN OPEN STAND AGAINST THEIR HAZARDOUS DESIGNS. THE UNITY OF THIS POWERFUL PEACE FRONT KEEPS DEEPENING WITH THE GROWTH OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE POTENTIAL THERMONUCLEAR WAR, WHICH MIGHT MEAN THE ULTIMATE DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION AND LIFE AS SUCH.

It is no coincidence that outstanding authorities of world culture, especially those great people who have out of love for man and service aimed at ennobling the lives of the masses of millions the centerpiece of their life-long mission or work, figure prominently among those who speak out against the plans of the nuclear lunatics to unleash a worldwide thermonuclear conflict. IT IS NATURAL THAT THOSE ACTIVE FIGHTERS FOR PRESERVING WORLD PEACE INCLUDE THE FOREMOST CULTURAL FIGURES OF OUR HOMELAND, AMONG THEM -- IN A PROMINENT PLACE -- OUR WRITERS AND POETS.

THEIR BELIEF WAS ALSO MARKEDLY REFLECTED IN THEIR LETTER TO FELLOW ARTISTS IN THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, IN WHICH THEY RAISED THEIR WARNING VOICE TO CALL FOR SOLIDARITY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THOSE FORCES OF THE IMPERIALIST WORLD THAT HAZARDOUSLY TOY WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF A THERMONUCLEAR CATASTROPHE, AND THE EXTINCTION OF MANKIND INSEPARABLY CONNECTED WITH IT. THE PEACE EFFORTS OF OUR CULTURAL FRONT ARE ALSO DOCUMENTED BY THE COURSE OF THIS CONGRESS AND -- EVEN MORE SO -- BY YOUR RICH LITERARY WORK, LITERALLY IMBUED WITH THE PEACE MISSION, WHICH IS THUS ALSO A CONVINCING STATEMENT ABOUT THE HUMANITARIAN MISSION NOT ONLY OF YOUR WORKS OF ART BUT OF THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST SOCIAL ORDER.

Allow me, dear friends, comrades, to end my speech by repeating the expression of gratitude to you and the entire family of our literary artists for the works with which you have enriched our cultural treasure trove, but above all the intellectual and emotional life of our working people.

I wish you success in this noble mission in the midst and in the service of the people of whom you were born, also in the future. And I wish all of us that our socialist homeland -- to which all our skills and our heart may always belong -- may flourish in tranquility and peace.

Havlin Speech

AU051854 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Mar 82 p 2

[Speech by CPCZ Central Committee secretary Josef Havlin at the 3 March opening session of the third congress of the Czech writers union in Dobris]

[Excerpts] Socialism is becoming increasingly attractive for millions of working people of all continents. It is therefore also the target of increasingly hateful attacks by international imperialism. Those who rule the empire of the capital do not want to become reconciled to the fact that the wheel of history is turning ever faster in the direction of progress. They are horrified by the fact that the relaxation of international tension that took place in the past decade, owing to the Soviet peace offensive, was accompanied by an unprecedented growth in the prestige and real strength of socialism while the general crisis of capitalism was becoming more and more profound.

Imperialists led by the most aggressive circles of the United States are looking for a remedy against this by pursuing a new escalation of war tension. The United States' administration is making extraordinary efforts to thwart the nations' longing for peace. It has increased the country's arms budget, which has reached breathtaking heights. It is developing and producing ever newer and more destructive types of weapons. It is no longer content with the neutron bomb. Reagan seeks the production of mass-annihilation chemical weapons. He is enforcing his allies' obedience, intimidating those who are weaker than himself and blackmailing those who let themselves be blackmailed. He is threatening Poland, imposing economic sanctions on it and making sure that the subversive ideological machinery concentrates its barrage on this socialist country. The United States is poisoning with its policy the atmosphere in Europe and in the world at large. It is proclaiming embargoes, suspending food shipments previously agreed upon or even the exchange of goods. The degenerate character of present imperialists, who do not stop assuming the hypocritical role of defenders of freedom and human rights, is borne out by the fact that they would not hesitate, if it were left to them, to turn the whole of Europe not only into a "cemetery of culture" but into a real cemetery where -- in the radiation of neutron bombs -- the very sense of human rights and freedom would perish along with man.

The feverish pursuit of armament fetches colossal profits for imperialism; however, it is a scourge on the working people and inevitably deepens the economic and social differences and antagonisms between the rich and the poor, between those who are drowning in abundance and those for whom even the very basic vital needs are an inaccessible luxury. Millions of people in the world suffer from genuine starvation, a considerable part of them children up to the age of 5, and millions of the world's population suffer from chronic undernourishment. And under these circumstances the United States is spending billions and billions of dollars on arms and forcing other countries to do the same, convinced that the position of strength will make it possible for it to dictate its will to the world.

The same goals are pursued by antisocialist ideological subversion, which has reached unprecedented dimensions. Unrestrained instigation and slander, the coarsest lies, everything that helps to discredit socialism, anything that serves this purpose is good enough for our adversaries, who are not only at loggerheads with truth but also with honor and ethics. We are all the more sorry that even some of our former friends with whom we used to be linked by ties of communist togetherness have found themselves on that side of the barricade. Their statements, bereft of basic class viewpoints, no matter how they are being justified, cannot be regarded as anything but a betrayal of the common cause of socialism. This is true of any retreat from the positions of internationalism, of any manifestation of anti-Sovietism.

Not a single state in the world, least of all a state in central Europe, can be indifferent to this situation and development. That is why our people comprehend very well and approach with understanding all inevitable measures called forth by this situation. You yourselves know that, notwithstanding all the complications brought on in the last couple of years, we strive to deepen ever more people's social guarantees and living and cultural standards and to develop them in keeping with our potentials.

Our great capital is the man of labor and his immense creative capabilities that are based on the firm foundations of political and moral maturity and a high level of qualification. The priority task is to create optimal conditions and scope for his multifaceted self-realization and to wage an uncompromising struggle against everything that stands in its way. People who want to accomplish a great deal must encounter at every step our support and solicitude for their sincere and genuine endeavor. We must not tolerate those shortcomings and abuses of everyday practice that shatter people's initiative and that -- in more than one case -- turns into its exact opposite: resignation. We must fight with the same intensity against slovenly attitudes, poor working morale, opportunism, indifference, selfishness and petit bourgeois ways, which are inflicting tremendous damage on our common cause.

We are able to convince ourselves at every step that the only path on which our economy can take a wholesome development is the path of improving the quality of all work and purposefully mobilizing all resources and untapped potentials. Unfortunately, the facts prove that we are far from succeeding in asserting and implementing this key requirement at the necessary pace. This is demonstrated by the insufficient reduction of production costs, the failure to fulfill the tasks set for labor productivity growth, the low savings on fuels, energy, raw materials and metals, and a number of other negative phenomena. The diverse standard and effectiveness of managerial work is, to a great extent, responsible for this. Its shortcomings, including cautiousness, self-satisfaction, inconsistency, convervatism in thinking, deep-rooted stereotypes, and hesitation in promoting competent cadres, must be dealt with much more energetically and boldly.

We must aim much more pronouncedly at mobilizing material and human resources, and at raising responsibility, exactitude, and the effectiveness and quality of all work. It is a question of making better use of both our own potentials and of the potentials created within international socialist integration, especially in economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, so as to make us independent of the economy of the imperialist world.

This path represents the only possible option, despite all the unavoidable and sometimes unpopular measures with which it is connected.

It is essential to project all these tasks into ideological work. We must strive to make the working people understand the inevitability of the adopted measures so that they will not let themselves be misled by the slanders that are and will continue to be disseminated by bourgeois propaganda and that will continue to develop their committed initiative and activity, which is our most precious source of material and cultural values. It is important that people realize that the internal causes of our shortcomings are a result of an inconsistent utilization of the principles and advantages of the socialist system and that, to put it differently, the consistent utilization of those principles and advantages is the only reliable way of mitigating the impact of the capitalist crisis and of gaining lasting supremacy in the competition with capitalism.

We are penetrating the moral profile of the socialist man and opening the way for new thinking, which is an urgent requirement in all sectors and especially in managerial activity. Today it no longer suffices to point out mistakes and shortcomings. It is essential to seek, discover and assert -- sometimes with a great degree of personal courage -- new, bold and pioneering solutions to emerging or already existing problems, even at the price of conflict situations. Burning issues must not be circumvented. It is necessary to speak to people openly about them and see to it that our words are not inconsistent with deeds.

If we compare the present state of all Czechoslovak literature and our work of art with the situation in this sphere at the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies, when the forces that were loyal to the party were shaping new Czech artists unions, we can be justly proud of the fruits of the past decade. Jointly we proved capable of coping with the unfortunate legacy of the crisis-ridden years and of winning the struggle for the minds [vedomie] of our creative intelligentsia. Today we can already extol great new works of socialist literature, solve the ideocreative questions of both our prose and poetry and of the children's literature, and devote attention to rearing new talents. And the main thing is that we can state that the broad literary front is marching with the people, that it is standing on the positions of socialism, and that our working people greatly respect its works and its civic attitudes. The gratitude and appreciation of our entire society goes to your union for the enormous feat it has accomplished.

We know that our literary and artistic front is differentiated. The best works are created by mature authors who have always been, and still are, with the Communist Party and the working people. Their works are characterised by the harmonious combination of artistic skill and communist conviction. They are works of socialist realism in the best sense of the term; they represent the backbone of our literature and are the source of lasting, truly artistic values.

The future of our literature makes it imperative to devote our primary attention to developing the young creative generation; to lead it, as the 16th CPCZ Congress declared, toward feeling a sense of responsibility toward our society. We are of the same opinion as you are, that the natural endeavor of young creators to achieve innovationist and original artistic expression must be oriented so that it does not slither onto the path of formalism or even into the spheres of foreign ideology, but that it develops for the benefit of our society. You are also correct in speaking of the inevitability of supporting the continuity of generations in our literature, of the inevitability of following up the work of the greatest personalities of our socialist literature, and not tolerating any exclusivity of generations or their isolation.

The healthy development of young talents can be contributed to only by a purposeful, sensitive, but also ideologically principled education, combined with the acquisition of knowledge about working people, with the consolidation of the scientific world outlook among the ranks of young creators, and with the understanding of the social role of art in socialism. In every field of human activity, especially in literature and art, talent is the most valuable thing we have. To handle it thriftily means to invest capital in the future. That is why we consider work with the talents so very important. Our party evaluates and appreciates the activities organized by your union in the seventies to assist new writers.

The ideopolitical orientation and artistic experience of the senior, proven authors helped the young creators to successfully overcome the initial difficulties and courageously set to work. All the conflicts between generations, which are being artifically provoked in some places, must be replaced in the future by the comradely cooperation of writers of all ages.

The past period also strikingly showed the writers' and artists' creative participation in resolving questions in the lives of our builders of advanced socialism. Today more than ever in the past apply the words of Klement Gottwald at the Congress of National Culture in 1948 that our people need a culture -- science, literature, the theater, film and music -- that is permeated with our faith in the happy future of countries, which strengthens us in our work and in our struggle, and also shows us the road to the future. We would like all masters of the pen throughout our republic to succeed in creating valuable new works, which will instill in our people the qualities of the builders of advanced socialism; which will present a picture of the full-blooded hero of our times as the bearer of a responsible attitude to work and of social courage; which will wage a struggle against manifestations of petty bourgeosie and consumer psychology, as well as against the influences of the bourgeois world; and which will strengthen our citizens' pride in their socialist fatherland.

On no account do we want you to put on rose-tinted glasses in your work, or to cover up the real problems with which our working people are living. On the other hand, it is necessary to draw a principled line under the unhealthy views about our present and under the belittling of our people's construction efforts. Let us do everything to eliminate from our book market all soullessness and grayness and promote the rich flourishing of a literature that is convincing both by its artistic skill and by the beauty of the word, as well as by the strength of the socialist idea -- that is, a really revolutionary literature.

Your high civic activity is proving that you are well aware of the writers' mission in the battle for peace. This is also demonstrated by your open letter to the writers of Western Europe. Let our literature penetrate into the whole world; let it rouse the consciences of honest people in the West, calling them to take responsibility for the peaceful and progressive present and future of the world.

We are convinced that your congress deliberations will provide new suggestions for further creative feats in the name of socialism and peace; that the voice of our writers -- together with the voice of the representatives of the great Soviet literature and the writers of other fraternal countries -- will resound throughout the world as testimony to the victorious truth of socialism.

I wish all of you many successes in your creative work and in your union activities, as well as satisfaction in your personal life. We firmly believe that the creative workshops of Czech and Slovak writers will yield literary masterpieces, permeated with the greatness of our times and inspired by communist ideals.

REPORT ON DISCUSSION AT CZECH TRADE UNION CONGRESS

AU041943 [Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 1, 2 and 3 March carries on its inside pages accounts, totalling 14,000 words, of the discussion at the Czech congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which was held in Prague 26-28 February.

Ruzena Obrucova, worker in the Amati enterprise in Kraslice, complains in her statement -- like some other participants in the discussion -- about protective work gear. She says: "The protective aids that we succeed in getting hold of are of poor quality, stand no test and, the main thing, they are always in short supply. We would like to have gloves that protect our hands from cuts, blisters and so forth. We also need enough aprons and other aids to protect us from work accidents." She deplores that the protective work gear that is being used, though it is "quite expensive," does not "fulfill its purpose."

Ladislav Horacek, a repairman from Liberec, welcomes in his statement, among other things, that at the beginning of 1982 the consumption of materials was excluded from the employees' performance indicator. He notes, however, a contradiction since "when we save materials, we thereby fail to fulfill our workshop's overall tasks in performance, albeit this does not affect our earnings. However, our workshop is sometimes forced by the enterprise to fulfill this indicator because other indicators are being deduced from it." He therefore suggests that, instead of using the added labor value indicator, enterprises of the local economy should be using a "simplified indicator" that would resolve this contradiction. This change would, for example, encourage the enterprises to repair parts of refrigerators instead of exchanging entire "aggregates," he says.

Josef Tomasek, chairman of the enterprise trade union committee in the NHKG Kuncice enterprise, criticizes the planning practice: "In the past we used to criticize that we were being acquainted with the tasks of the plan too late and did not have time enough to discuss it with the working people. Nowadays the enterprise receives the draft plan, admittedly at the beginning of the second half of the year, but what is the use when it is changed and adjusted several times and includes many pending issues, especially as far as inputs and economic indicators are concerned, or it even happens, as was the case in our enterprise last year, that toward the end of the first half of the year we are told that there will probably be changes in the plan, in view of the fact that the inputs had not been ensured. It is very difficult to talk to the working people in such a situation and it surely is not easy to organize work initiative." As Tomasek goes on to say, the work of the planning bodies is the subject of the working people's "justified criticism."

The planning practice is also the subject of the statement by Jaroslav Zapotocky, chairman of the Czech Committee of the Trade Union of Workers in the Metal Industry. Having pointed out critically that in most organizations the tasks of the 1981 and 1982 plans were not discussed with the employees but were negotiated only at the level of enterprise committees, he goes on to say: "Many management employees and trade union functionaries approach the safeguarding of tasks in the old way. They indulge in the false illusion that things will pan out somehow, that the plan will be adjusted in the course of the year, which was no exception in the past. They are able to argue that the plan is not realistic because the elaboration of the plan for individual months and quarters of the year in the enterprises is not commensurate with the fund of working time [casovy fund], that means that the very elaboration of the plan does not provide for the necessary even fulfillment of the plan, and tasks are accumulated to the third and fourth quarters of the year. Often the approved plan contains, in the form in which it is broken down for the enterprises, unresolved inconsistencies -- material inputs, energy, the content of foreign trade orders, and supplier-consignee relations are not ensured."

"The enterprise management deals with the supraordinated agencies to resolve the inconsistencies and there is no time left for discussing the tasks with the people. This was also manifested this year in several enterprises, in which -- for reasons of lack of clarity -- the plan has been detailed just for the first quarter of the year. This is true of Chronotechna Sternberk, the Mlada Boleslav automobile works national enterprise and the Kvasiny and Vrchlabi automobile works national enterprises. Many enterprises received the details of the plan from the general directorate only in the last week of January or in the first 10 days of February."

The delays in drafting the plans also affect the conclusion of collective contracts, according to Zapotocky, despite a Central Trade Union Council resolution to conclude collective contracts by 15 February, many enterprises refuse to conclude them before March or even April. He says: "Even though we negotiate with them, they argue that without a clear plan and other economic indicators deduced from it -- indicators that govern the revenues of the enterprise funds -- it is impossible to discuss the collective contract with the working people because they are voicing their distrust in such a proposal."

Vaclav Kyncl, technician in the Holice District construction enterprise, notes in his statement, among other things, that the recent price increases in public catering have aggravated his enterprise's problems. He points out that the sums earmarked for expense-account eating for construction workers "far from correspond to the new prices," and that bricklayers are not entitled to this benefit at all. "This really is an urgent problem and it should finally be resolved," he says.

Stanislaw Vnoucek, chairman of the regional trade union council in north Bohemia, criticizes in his contribution to the discussion the Prumstav Pardubice, Montas Hradec Kralove, and Chepos Brno enterprises for having refused to take part in the construction of desulfurization facilities in north Bohemia, despite a government resolution stipulating these projects as priority tasks. He says in this context: "How is it possible that a government resolution is not binding for a subordinate organization, that the subordinate organization does not respect even a minister's order? Our trade union bodies and organizations should not be closing their eyes to such things. We are then being rightly criticized by our members for not drawing any conclusions when some responsible managerial employees do not fulfill the set tasks, but also for the lack of our, the trade union functionaries' courage, whom this concerns."

Ludvik Opletal, chairman of the regional trade union council in south Moravia, points in his speech, among other things, to the need to improve the system of trade union work. He says in this context that "in view of the complicated nature of the trade union structure and the need to be more and more among the working people, it is necessary to ponder the length of the term of office at the individual levels of the trade union structure." Opletal does not elaborate on this proposal.

Pavel Grabovsky, worker at the May Day mine in Karvina, in his statement criticizes the general directorate of the Ostrava-Karvina mines for its "no good" approach to solving the "disastrous condition" of the mines' enterprise-run polyclinic, and to "safeguarding health care for miners." He also calls for the help of the Czech Committee of the Trade Union of Workers in the Mining and Power Industry in solving the problem.

TRADE UNION COUNCIL DISCUSSES YOUTH CONTRIBUTION

LD051636 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 5 Mar 82

[Text] The representatives of the Central Council of Trade Unions met in Prague today with the representatives of working youth collectives, brigades of socialist work, comprehensive rationalization brigades, young inventors and innovators from our whole republic.

Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, Jirina Vesala, said at the meeting that at the coming 10th trade union congress the contribution of the youth to the activity of the revolutionary trade union movement will be assessed and the results the trade unions achieved in satisfying the needs of the young generation will be evaluated. She went on to say that at the congress further work with youth and ways of increasing the number of young trade unionists who approach the given tasks with initiative will be critically and openly discussed.

Young specialists, technicians, workers in services and representatives of those who are only preparing themselves for their future professions then discussed how to go on increasing their contribution to the development of efficiency and quality of work, to utilize raw materials and energy more effectively and apply scientific-technological findings.

U.S. PREPARING 'INTERVENTION' IN EL SALVADOR

AU081214 Prague PRACE in Czech 6 Mar 82 p 2

[Unattributed article: "One of the Leaders of the National Liberation Front of El Salvador Speaks; Washington Is Preparing Intervention" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] A FEW DAYS AGO A SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT WAS MADE THROUGH A SALVADORAN JOURNALIST TO SEND QUESTIONS TO THE SUPREME COMMAND OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF EL SALVADOR [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN] PERTAINING TO U.S. INTERFERENCE IN SALVADORAN AFFAIRS. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE TELEPHONED ANSWERS.

[Question] Can you give us more details about American troops participating in the junta's punitive expeditions?

[Answer] There are many American military advisers in the army of the Salvadoran junta who take part in working out punitive operations against the Salvadoran people. There are also Americans piloting Salvadoran military aircraft. In the middle of June 1981, not far from the township of (La Caniana) in Chalatenango District, two American soldiers flying in a helicopter surveying guerrilla positions were killed. Both were wearing U.S. Army uniforms. Last October I saw an American officer in charge of a punitive operation being carried out by Salvadoran troops. The guerrillas were hiding in a trench. The American could not see us, but we saw him all right. At one time the American officer was about 30 meters away. Later I saw him shoot a woman and three children from a helicopter.

[Question] How many American advisers are there in the Salvadoran army?

[Answer] There are no accurate figures. They come and go. Some of them have a longer, others -- to to speak -- a shorter tour of duty. I think I am not wrong when I say that there are several hundred of them at present.

[Question] What plans do the American imperialists have for El Salvador?

[Answer] The Salvadoran revolutionary forces have achieved great successes in recent months. This causes great concern in Washington. According to our information, the decision on American intervention in El Salvador has already been made. Washington wants to make use of the so-called "elections," to be held on 28 March, to morally and politically "substantiate" its intervention. We know that the Americans have special troops on alert in San Diego. Such troops could be transferred from Florida as well as from the Panama Canal. Troops from Honduras, too, are being considered; the population in the El Salvador-Honduras border region is being evacuated at present. Guatemala and Chile could also provide intervention troops.

AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR CAN TAKE PLACE AT ANY MOMENT. THEREFORE, I AM TAKING THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CALL ON THE PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD. WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE SALVADORAN NATION, WHICH IS GAINING STRENGTH. INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY IS A STRONG SUPPORT FOR US AND GIVES US STRENGTH. WE WANT THE WHOLE WORLD TO KNOW THAT ANOTHER CRIME AGAINST THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE IS IN THE MAKING.

MLADA FRONTA: YOUTH ASKED TO PROTEST NATO POLICY

AU041930 [Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 3 March on page 3 carries a 400-word letter from the newspaper's editorial board addressed to its readers. The letter responds to alleged requests by MLADA FRONTA readers asking for advice on "what to do when they want to join the extensive international campaign of sending postcards to the NATO headquarters in Brussels."

To accommodate these requests, MLADA FRONTA publishes a sample postcard with "proposal for a text" in English, and "recommends" that the readers mail the postcards directly "to NATO ministers and generals" in the organization's Brussels headquarters. The text of the postcard reads -- spelling and grammar as published: "This postcards shows a part of my country, Socialist Czechoslovakia -- beautiful, isn't it? In case of nuclear catastrophe, it will be erased not only from your military maps, but also from my memory. This is why I say stop to your war plans, to arm race, to destruction and death. I say start a constructive dialogue."

MLADA FRONTA suggests that the text of the postcard, "provided that you identify with it," be written by hand, and recommends that it include the writer's name and age. It also reminds the prospective writers that the postage for a postcard to Belgium is Kcs2.

A similar letter, with the same proposed text, is also published by the Slovak youth daily SMENA on 3 March, on pages 1 and 5.

RUDE PRAVO: HOSTILE ACTIONS IN POLAND CONTINUE

AU081250 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Mar 82 p 7

[Article by Jan Lipavsky, RUDE PRAVO Warsaw correspondent: "Recent Polish Experience; Enemies Are Not Giving Up"]

[Text] Two and half months after the imposition of the state of emergency, life in Poland provides convincing evidence that normalization is proceeding successfully on the one hand, but it is obvious on the other hand that the hostile forces, encouraged by the West, have not given up.

A great effort is being made to restore the operation of enterprises, to achieve the greatest possible production and better supply of the market, and there are more and more examples of initiative. The extraction of raw materials -- particularly coal -- is increasing, good results are being reported from harbors and docks, an increasing number of enterprises are fulfilling their planned tasks and so forth. It is also true that the industry lacks various materials, including raw materials, and that as a result there are numberous hitches as regards cooperation. Some enterprises are only working at half capacity, but there is no doubt that the endeavor to quickly overcome problems and difficulties prevails. The Polish people appreciate the help they are getting from the socialist countries, particularly from the Soviet Union. Without that help, they say, we would not get out of the crisis.

However, the good atmosphere is constantly being poisoned by enemies, by those who have not abandoned the plan to overthrow the socialist order. On Thursday, representatives of the Ministry of Interior of the Polish People's Republic confirmed that since 26 February 1982 a further 219 persons had been released from internment and at the same time 64 persons had to say goodbye to their freedom. In addition, the newspapers report court sentences handed down to persons who committed after 13 December acts at variance with the regulations pertaining to the state of emergency.

In his speech at the recent Seventh PZPR Central Committee session, Gen R. Milczarek said, among other things, that for example the activity of the enemy in the Silesian region has been gaining in strength in recent weeks.

As he put it, what is involved is the escalation of antistate and antiparty actions with the aim of provoking unrest. The enemies have issued leaflets calling for passivity at work, violation of the regulations pertaining to the state of emergency, the organization of illegal "Solidarity" actions and similar things. At the same time they continue to apply psychological terror, especially against party members and their families. They are sending them "death sentences"....

Col L. Wojtasik has confirmed these facts in the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI daily. He writes that party and state functionaries are getting written or telephone threats. Insulting symbols are often found on the doors of their apartments. In illegal leaflets, "Solidarity" functionaries are asked to compile "lists of collaborateurs." In his analysis of terrorism, which has found fertile soil in "Solidarity," KOR and the so-called confederation, Colonel Wojtasik states that a great danger lurks in failing to appreciate the possibility that terror might spread at present. Terror, namely, was a firm component of the programs of KOR, the so-called confederation and other instruments of counter-revolution. It is typical that the leaflets calling for terror are signed either by existing or fictitious organizations, identifying themselves with "Solidarity."

The diversionary Western radios, headed by the so-called Radio Free Europe, are unequivocally depicted as the main cause of the danger of terrorism in Poland.

In Poland a struggle continues on two fronts: for a full normalization of life and against the domestic enemy and reaction abroad. The majority of the Polish public condemns and rejects everything that retards or jeopardizes the return to full normalization, everything that endangers their security and the safety of all citizens.

SLOVAK DAILY ON CHURCH ROLE IN POLAND

AU081334 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Mar 82 p 6

[Part six of Pavol Minarik article, "Who Was at the Back of the Counterrevolution in Poland; With the Church's Blessing"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE ANTISOCIALIST ELEMENTS WERE PREPARING THE CRITICAL SITUATION IN POLAND AS FAR BACK AS THE SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTIES AND THEY WERE USING VARIOUS ILLEGAL WAYS. THE REACTION MADE SKILLFUL USE OF THE SERIOUS MISTAKES AND ERRORS IN THE PZPR'S POLICY AND OF THE CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL "LIGHTHEARTEDNESS" IN THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC DURING RECENT YEARS.

The lack of respect for the economic laws of socialism, for the Leninist norms of party life and for socialist moral principles, as well as an incorrect attitude to the social needs have evoked critical political processes. And not only that, the socialist development of culture and the people's moral education were also neglected. IN ITS PLACE, PRAGMATISM WAS SPREADING, AS WAS THE LACK OF PRINCIPLE AND CONFORMISM IN ATTITUDES TOWARD IDEOLOGICAL AND MORAL INFLUENCE AND THE PENETRATION OF CLASS ENEMIES. AT THE SAME TIME WISHES WERE FREQUENTLY PRESENTED AS REALITY, AND TIME AND AGAIN IT WAS PROCLAIMED THAT FOR A LONG TIME NO SOCIAL SOIL HAD EXISTED IN POLAND FOR AN IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND CLASS BATTLE.

However, it was in the country of our northern neighbors that the objective and subjective prerequisites existed for spreading various bourgeois and petit bourgeois inclinations in the people's way of thinking and acting; this was due to an underrating of the socialist ideology. The Polish People's Republic is the only country of the socialist community which has preserved a large degree of private ownership of agricultural land -- private farmers own almost 80 percent of the land -- and also thousands of private enterprises in the sphere of services.

To put it simply, socialism stood on only one foot in Poland. The strata of petit bourgeoisie and kulaks was determining the course to be taken by Polish rural areas.

The new members of the workers class in cities with a rapidly developing industry often came from among the ranks of these people. Apart from that, a considerable part of the workers class was in fact a class of, so to speak, first-generation workers. ALTHOUGH THEY WERE WORKERS AND HAD WORKED FOR SOME TIME IN INDUSTRY, THEIR OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES TIED THEM TO THE ENVIRONMENT FROM WHICH THEY HAD EMERGED -- TO THE RURAL AREAS, WHERE THE RELATIONS OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP PREVAILED.

It is in this unfavorable situation that the Polish church began its consistent fight to consolidate its positions. For as long as the party leadership permitted itself to be satisfied with the achieved results, and neglected systematic ideological work both inside the party and among other working people, the church won increasing support for its ideological and political goals, especially among the part of the workers class whose origins lay in the rural areas. It did not take the church long to become a political force with a large, well-built and equipped aparatus. In a completely legal way, without any inhibitions, it introduced ideologically and politically hostile opinions in the minds of the workers class and other working people and undermined their trust in socialism. Moreover, it skillfully manipulated not only the minds, but also the stances of a considerable number of workers and farmers, of the intelligentsia and of young students, on the important events in the country, or else on measures taken by the party and state bodies. THE SO-CALLED PATRIOTIC STANCES OF THE CHURCH HIERARCHY CONCEALED A CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT, PRECISELY PREPARED AND DOSED ANTICOMMUNISM, UNAMBIGUOUSLY AIMED AT UTILIZING EVERY SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY FOR GAINING OFFICIAL RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT OF ITS WORLD-OUTLOOK AND OF POLITICAL PLURALISM, COMBINED WITH A DENIAL OF THE LEADING ROLE OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY AND A RENEWAL OF ALL FORMER PRIVILEGES.

The Polish church was ready with a helping hand at the birth of the "independent Solidarity trade unions"; it intended these to play the role of a strong, but obedient tool in its hands. "Solidarity" was to have been the means for exerting pressure on the Government of the Polish People's Republic, to make it sufficiently acquiescent to the political demands of the church. Like the openly antisocialist forces, the church hierarchy in reality also strove to destroy socialism. But it strove to do this "peacefully," by means of a precisely dosed ideological influence, combined with increasing pressure from "Solidarity."

The wave of strikes organized by "independent trade unions" and also their public appearances proved from the very first that religion, combined with nationalism and social demagogy, is the ideological tool for manipulating the working people who are believers and thus also for establishing foundations for a mass base of destructive actions. The demands which "Solidarity" was making and introducing in the resolutions of strike committees had been expressed long before that by the Polish Episcopate in its pastoral messages, and later also in its declaration of attitude in August 1980.

From the very first, the support granted by the church to "independent trade unions" was more than obvious. And it was not limited to the Catholic intelligentsia's club premises placed at the "Solidarity's" disposal for its activities, or to financial aid, or to advisers like Tadeusz Mazowiecki, former chief editor of the Catholic periodical WIEZ, who later became chief editor of SOLIDARNOSC, and others. The "Solidarity" bosses were going in and out of the residence of Cardinal S. Wyszinski, and later Archbishop J. Glemp. The most faithful of them, such as L. Walesa, J. Kulaj or Z. Bujak, were even embraced in the Vatican by Pope Wojtyla himself.

It was most certainly no coincidence that all significant "Solidarity" actions were preceded by Lech Walesa's consulting with the Polish primate about their preparation and goals. For local actions the bosses of "Solidarity's" individual voivodship regions consulted local church dignitaries, requesting their advice. And the latter were always on hand when it was necessary to comfort the flock of the faithful with the "Lord's word."

DURING THIS ENTIRE PERIOD, LASTING 1 and 1/2 YEARS, NOT ONE "SOLIDARITY" ACTION -- INCLUDING THE ALMOST 20-DAY GDANSK CONGRESS OF "INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS" -- WAS CARRIED OUT WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF A PRIEST. IT WAS ALWAYS LIKE THAT: FIRST CAME THE "LORD'S WORD," WHICH WAS THEN FOLLOWED BY ATTACKS AGAINST SOCIALISM. According to the church's nations, the current revival process in Poland should proceed on the basis of "Christian unity" and under the ideological leadership of the church, which should be a kind of arbiter of Poland's future destiny.

Both the recent communique issued by the Polish Episcopate, and the primate's latest appeals, can scarcely really contribute to normalizing and stabilizing the situation in Poland. From 13 December 1981 on, Pope Wojtyla made use of every opportunity to criticize the course embarked upon by the Government of the Polish People's Republic; at the same time he expressed his sympathy for the "Solidarity" bosses, who had been driving Poland into a crisis. The middle of last month he even received, in a special audience, 12 "Solidarity" officials who are abroad. He thus documented the significance attributed by the church hierarchy to the support of counterrevolutionary forces. His statement on that occasion, that "the only way to resolve the Polish crisis is to fully renew 'Solidarity'," which allegedly has no political goals, this statement testifies to the well thought out tactics of exerting pressure on the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

Some time ago, when the counterrevolution was threatening Poland's socialist development, its future and its further fate, the Catholic church issued no warning appeals. Its leading representatives willingly entered into deliberations with the "Solidarity" extremists in the interests of some kind of "national accord," the substance of which was to have been, according to their notions, further endless concessions by the government. But today the church does not want to recognize that the "democracy" it was trying to assert in the life of society through "Solidarity" was far less tolerant than the course taken by the government at present. The church is thus acting contrary to its own declarations on patriotism and on the inevitability of the national accord.

RUDE PRAVO REJECTS PLURALIST NOTION OF SOCIALISM

AU081432 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Mar 82 p 1

[Editorial: "What We Have"]

[Excerpts] From time to time it is necessary to come to a halt for a moment and to think in greater depth about what we have already accomplished, where we have shortcomings and on what we must concentrate our forces for the benefit of the republic's even further development. The past 2 months have represented and the weeks to come will still represent such a halt, a halt that will surely produce a speedier movement forward.

It is characteristic for our society that the urge to come to this halt was felt by communists, trade unionists, writers, lawyers, artists, actors, scientists and young people.

We have entered a period of world development whose problems and difficulties, and their solution and conquest, require of each of us an increased degree of strength, courage and initiative, more firmness and dedication, the full exertion of our potentials, political activity -- in short, we must now give everything that is in us to the republic. This has been and will be spoken about at party meetings, in preparing the all-trade union congress, during the writers' congresses and at the planned conferences and conventions of members of other professions and branches. The endeavor to develop the republic unites people from all social strata of our society, because they understand that socialism has created the basis for their self-realization as people, artists and workers. That is also the source of our people's moral and political unity.

For years the employees of imperialist propaganda centers have been calling our people's unity an "expression of the totalitarian communist system." Let them call it whatever they wish, we have grown accustomed to it. People who believe in the principle that man preys upon man must regard a world in which members of various social strata work hand in hand as something out of this world, as a fantastic and hostile civilization that is dangerous for them because it poses a threat to their wolfish ethics. What would happen to them in a human world?

Recently they were joined by certain academic [kabinetni] "revivalists" of socialism who are also shaking their heads in disbelief over our people's unity. It is not democratic enough for them. They have not yet tasted even a bit of the joy and worries, the burden and the splendor, the simplicity and the complications, the dangers and the certainties of building a real homeland for the working people, a country in which the man of labor takes everything into his own hands, but they already possess a recipe for what real socialism should look like. For example, we should fight each other under the masthead of various political parties, worker against worker, farmer against farmer, or also worker against farmer, engineer against worker, physicist against physician. Fight for what? No one knows. But it would be a pluralist system, which the "revivalists" of socialism regard as the only foundation of genuine democracy. And they do not at all consider the possibility of a third one lurking in the background and rubbing his hands in contentment. These words are not exaggerated. The developments in Poland and the attitude of the academic "revivalists" of socialism to the consolidation effort in that country only confirm their validity.

Our people have already disappointed the ideological armorers of imperialism many times and it goes without saying that they will not listen even to the contemporary "revivalists" of socialism. Incidentally, we have experience with such people.

We do not indulge in the illusion that there are no shortcomings and weak spots in our joint endeavor, that there is no indifference anywhere, that there are no people among us who are against us, that nothing good ever gets lost because of the incompetence of many a responsible employee, and so forth. Such shortcomings are coming distinctly to the surface, though there are people who would like to bury them as deep as possible and cover them up perfectly. But it is precisely people's honest endeavor, their broadly based, multifaceted and good joint work that uncompromisingly exposes every mistake and every weakspot in our life, the mistakes and weakspots of every one of us. It is precisely our good joint work, the dazzling white background it represents, against which every blemish on our honest endeavor to develop the republic stands out in sharp relief.

That is why we are able to say, and do say, what must be done for our state, for our socialist republic. Why we are able to see, and do see, what stands in the way of its development. And we all use a common language, the worker, the farmer or the doctor with many academic degrees. We have our human unity, our joint interest, our freedom and democracy, our joint responsibility, our joint task -- we simply have our country, our true homeland that we administer jointly and in unity. No matter what happens in the world, we will not let anyone deprive us of our land. It is our land. We have it in our hands. Forever.

NATO NAVAL EXERCISES IN MEXICAN GULF CRITICIZED

DW081527 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Ingrid Seyboldt commentary]

[Text] Within the framework of this first large-scale NATO sea-warfare exercise in the Gulf of Mexico, 28 warships, 80 combat planes and about 10,000 soldiers will simulate war between the southern coast of North America and Cuba's territorial waters up to 18 March. While in February, when these plans became known, there was still talk of quite normal, even routine exercises, the Pentagon has become more specific now. The whole thing is intended to test the case of hostilities, and this case is called Soviet blockade of the waterways between the United States and Western Europe. Soviet blockade?

In this bluff the very people who hold the leading positions have been pursuing blockade policy in the Caribbean for more than 20 years. These exercises are called Operation Safe Pass. Yet, the only party which all the time has been impeding this safe passage to the coast of Cuba is the United States, which talks about sea blockade again and imposes a ban on foreign enterprises which maintain trade relations with Havana.

This is known in Latin America, of course, and beyond. Is this the reason why NATO is to be included now? Do they hope that they thereby will not only multiply the pressure on progressive developments in the Caribbean and in Central America but also divert attention from the United States as the main adversary of the liberation movements? Obviously both considerations play a role. The script of the war exercise -- the brazen contention that a Soviet threat needs to be averted, for which Washington has not bothered to produce any proof -- fits into the entire U.S. policy in this region.

After all, in El Salvador, too, there is alleged communist subversive activity against which the government has to defend itself. Allegedly the situation is in no way different in Guatemala. And this archenemy of American democracy -- that is the logical consequence -- needs to be counteracted rigorously. American democracy?

Did this democracy not consist in the fact that as early as in 1932 some 30,000 peasants were killed in El Salvador with North American approval? And Guatemala? Ever since the bourgeois-democratic Arbenz government was overthrown in 1954 -- not only with the direct help of the United States, by the way, but after an unprecedented campaign which the United States had staged against the country -- the number of people murdered exceeded 80,000.

Now, ships, airplanes and soldiers -- also from West European countries -- have set out to spare these buddies of the United States their well-deserved end. Are they not feeling that they end up sharing in the guilt? Even months ago high-ranking North American government officials confirmed that plans, up to an armed intervention in Cuba and Nicaragua, are all prepared and ready. And what would suit the United States better than dragging the allies into this dangerous adventure and saddling them with some of the responsibility? The threat with the alleged Soviet danger has already served as a pretext for many crimes of imperialism. Is another one being prepared here?

HONECKER GREETS PLO'S 'ARAFAT ON ARRIVAL 9 MAR

LD091020 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1003 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Berlin, 9 Mar (ADN) -- Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, arrived this morning in the GDR at the head of a PLO delegation which is making an official friendship visit. At the Berlin-Schoenfeld Airport he was cordially greeted by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

FRG SPY SENTENCED TO 10 YEARS' IMPRISONMENT

LD081852 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1621 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Berlin, 8 Mar (ADN) -- The Berlin Higher Military Court today sentenced Kurt Liefold, a citizen of the FRG, to 10 years' imprisonment for espionage for a secret service of the Federal Republic in accordance with paragraph 98 of the Penal Code. The trial confirmed yet again that FRG secret services are stepping up their subversive activities and machinations in the interests of aggressive NATO planning.

Liefold was recruited, specially trained and paid for engaging in political and military espionage. During systematically organized visits to GDR territory, he was intensively involved in criminal actions for the FRG secret service. In doing so, he abused the generous GDR travel and visiting regulations for citizens of the FRG. In the interests of his masters, the spy collected information about national defense. The Toyota car used for the crime, registration number OHA-SX26, was impounded.

U.S. SOCIAL SCIENTISTS' IREX DELEGATION VISITS

AU081838 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Mar 82 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- A delegation of Irex, office for the exchange of scientists of the United States, headed by its director, Allan Kassof, was in the GDR at the invitation of the GDR Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs to prepare for deepening measures of bilateral cooperation in the field of social sciences. During its stay, the delegation was received by Guenter Heidorn, deputy minister of university and technical school affairs.

Both sides agreed to form a commission which determines various subjects from history, rehabilitation study and the study of literature, and recommends to scientists of both countries to deal with them on the basis of confirmed working plans on a long-term basis.

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER SPEAKS AT SUHL RALLY

AU081900 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6/7 Mar 82 p 2

[ADN report: "Defense Power of Socialism Strengthened: Colonel General Kessler Speaks at Suhl Mass Meeting"]

[Text] Suhl (ADN) -- Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy national defense minister and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army [NVA], spoke about problems of the SED's military policy in Suhl on Friday. At a military-political mass meeting before some 700 officials of party-state organs and mass organizations, he proceeded from the assessment made by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, that peace has never been threatened as much as now since the end of World War II. "This assertion is the premise of all military-political considerations, decisions and measures which we must adopt in the interest of preserving peace and security in Europe," Colonel General Kessler stressed. The chances of peace are as great as socialism, above all, is strong; as the peoples actively endorse it; and as much as it is possible to successfully repel the imperialist confrontation course and to implement specific measures for arms limitation and disarmament. He stated that in Suhl Bezirk, as well as in the other bezirk party organizations, the required steps are being taken in order to purposefully solve the multifaceted tasks of socialist national defense. It is important, in view of the imperialist confrontation policy, to create a distinctly clear view among all citizens about how the growing danger of war can be averted and how the socialist gains can be reliably protected any time. Socialism and its defensive power are being further strengthened with new activities in implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. For the NVA members, this involves scrupulously fulfilling their class assignment shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers of the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies.

Hans Albrecht, first secretary of the SED Suhl Bezirk leadership, gave assurance that the more than 10,000 labor collectives of the bezirk's industry, its building and transport industry, agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs economy will also contribute with high achievements to the strengthening and further perfecting of developed socialism in the GDR. In doing so, the working people are supporting the SED's successful military policy with all their strength.

WOMEN'S DAY MARKED IN BERLIN CEREMONIES

Honecker Speech

LD081946 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1526 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Excerpt] Berlin, 8 Mar (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee gave its traditional festive reception on Monday for meritorious women from all sectors of GDR social life. The approximately 500 guests in the congress hall of the Central Committee building in Berlin welcomed with tumultuous applause Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, as well as other party and state leaders.

In his toast Erich Honecker praised the work of women and girls in all areas of social life. He said:

"On behalf of the SED Central Committee, I greet and congratulate you on this 1982 International Women's Day. This year, like every year, we have the pleasure of meeting women from the most diverse sectors of social life. Many of you have been honored today with the Clara Zetkin Medal for your services toward further shaping the advanced socialist society in the GDR and preserving peace. I would like to congratulate you on this with all my heart.

We are pleased that our GDR is developing stably and dynamically in line with the 10th SED Congress. Evidence of this is the fulfillment of the 1981 economic plan and the good start to the 1982 plan. Our policy of peace and socialism, unity of economic and social policy, is being purposefully implemented. Workers in town and country are making efforts to this end with great initiative. They know that their achievements benefit not only society but themselves as well.

Women's and girls' achievements in this respect are in the front ranks. What the GDR has become during more than 3 decades would have been inconceivable without their major contribution in all sectors of society. Without their creative help it would have been impossible to fulfill our tasks in the eighties, in which respect I do not need to stress that nothing is going to be easy in future either. I feel all the more obliged to convey, particularly on this International Women's Day, the sincere thanks of the GDR party and state leadership to all GDR women and girls for their active help, their outstanding achievements for the well-being of the people.

Last week, the 11th Democratic Women's League [DFD] Congress was held in our capital. The newly elected DFD presidium members with their reelected chairman, with her many years of experience, Comrade Isle Thiele, are among us here. We congratulate them all.

The proceedings of the 11th DFD Congress were wholly in line with the deep-rooted changes which have taken place in the lives of our republic's women. The DFD played a major role in this respect. It was a joy to hear and see how delegates explained with such enthusiasm and political maturity, with such great awareness of their responsibility, what their DFD groups had undertaken in housing areas to alleviate life for working mothers, for the well-being of children, and the family, and a great deal more. We hold in high esteem the commitments the DFD has undertaken to help the continued implementation of the decisions of the 10th party congress.

The good words of admiration from representatives of numerous women's organizations to the participants in the congress and at rallies to mark International Women's Day demonstrate that the DFD is firmly anchored in the international democratic women's movement. It has won great prestige through its close, friendly relations with the women of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, through its active anti-imperialist solidarity, its support for many women's organizations in young national states.

The 11th DFD Congress was thus a fitting high point to the 35 year's history of our republic's women's organization. We are convinced that the DFD, with its more than 1.4 million members, will continue to develop its successful work in the interests of women, the continued prospering of our socialist fatherland, the GDR, and the preservation of peace. We wish them every success in this.

Dear women, dear comrades.

We are following with deep concern the deterioration of the international situation. It is therefore a welcome fact that this year's International Women's Day is being marked in all countries more strongly than ever before in the spirit of campaigning for peace and against the threat of nuclear war. This is of decisive importance for the lives and future of peoples. The warmongers fear nothing so much as people's resistance to their way policy.

That is why it is so important to put a stop to the course of confrontation and arms drive, steered by the most aggressive circles of NATO, particularly the United States. Only if this is possible, if arms limitation and disarmament are brought about in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security, can the nations dispel the shadows currently cast over their existence.

In accordance with its foreign policy, which is coordinated with the Soviet Union and all other states of the socialist community, the GDR is making every effort to contribute actively toward preserving peace. In order to secure peace, it is necessary to guarantee that the fruits of detente are not crushed underfoot, the East-West dialogue is continued and the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems despite great opposition, the foundation for nations to live side by side.

Every citizen of the GDR can do his bit by working with all his might toward further strengthening our socialist state of workers and peasants. How well this is understood, especially by the women, can be seen in their social and professional work, their commitments and performance in socialist competition. We do not disregard in this respect the fact that this is all the more important since women and mothers fulfill an invaluable role in the midst of and for the well-being of their families.

Together we will proceed in the GDR along the road to securing and raising the material and cultural standard of living by dint of the efforts of everyone, the road of social security, protection of human dignity. This is signposted in the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. It will not be easy, yet we can look confidently to the future. We have created -- and we can say this with pride -- solid foundations for the loftier goals of tomorrow. Our policy is in the interests of the people, and the trust which links party and people is firmer than ever. By dint of everyone's efforts, it will be implemented successfully.

I ask you to lift your glasses and drink with me to

-- the good health of women and girls of the GDR;

-- the all-round strengthening of our socialist GDR;

-- the 1982 International Women's Day, the action day of women throughout the world for peace, democracy and equality.

Stoph Presents Medals

LD081444 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] On the occasion of International Women's Day, meritorious GDR women were today presented with the Clara Zetkin Medal. The awards were presented by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. He conveyed to the women the most cordial greetings and congratulations from the Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker. Willi Stoph thanked the women and girls who, in implementing the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress are doing taxing and successful work. With their activities for the further stable and dynamic development of the national economy they are making a considerable contribution toward safeguarding peace. Their deeds exemplify their trust in the policy of the party of the working class and of the socialist state.

Radio Commentary

DW082012 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1005 GMT 7 Mar 82

[Excerpt from Dr Karl-Heinz Gerstner's weekly economic review]

[Text] It was with great interest that we have followed the consultations of the women's congress in Berlin over the last few days. The life of women in the GDR is an encouraging chapter in the history of our socialist state. During the past few years the living conditions of millions of women were improved considerably through our sociopolitical program, so that they are in a better position of mastering their tasks as working women and mothers.

Up to now some 1.3 million women benefited from the pregnancy and maternity leave, which was augmented to 26 weeks. 370,000 women made use of the baby year, which was introduced seven years ago. In the last five-year plan 116,000 kindergarten places were created. Every child, whose parents so desire, now will be admitted to a kindergarten. In 1981 M1.2 billion -- that is an average of M1,650 per place -- were spent for the care of children in kindergartens. Great headway was also made with regard to day nurseries. Just imagine, dear listeners, that each day nursery place costs M12,000. Last year alone our state has spent M800 million for the care of infants in day nurseries. Thus, expenditures for kindergartens and day nurseries in 1981 amounted to more than M2 billion. These are exemplary social performances.

Considering all these successes I feel called upon to add: all this did not come by itself, it was not that easy to achieve it. Just imagine how many years we needed so as to achieve the dense network of kindergartens we have today; how many letters I received over the years from mothers who wanted to have a kindergarten in their neighborhood. Today I do not receive such letters any longer.

It was these social performances which enabled women to develop their skills and talents. 88 percent of our country's women and girls are working. This, as we know, forms the basis of their genuine equality and independence. Half of the students at our universities are young women. This social position of women is one of those things our socialist country can take pride in.

BRIEFS

NEW TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR -- On Thursday Isaac Abraham Sepetu, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Republic of Tanzania to the GDR, was received by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, for the presentation of his credentials. In the talk it was noted that the friendly and trusting cooperation between the GDR and Tanzania has developed successfully and dynamically. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Feb 82 p 2 AU]

RIESA STEELWORKS OUTPUT -- The Riesa steel and rolling mill has thus far achieved a plan lead of 2,800 tons of crude steel, more than 1,000 tons of rolled steel and 680 tons of steel pipe. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1830 GMT 28 Feb 82 DW]

MAGYAR HIRLAP ON POLAND, STABILITY IN EUROPE

AU081530 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Mar 82 p 3

[Hanna Szalay article: "Stability"]

[Text] No one could question that European stability is a universal interest, or that the maintenance of international peace has to be the main concern of governments. Nevertheless, there are not insignificant forces that are trying to produce a contrary effect and cast doubt through their actions on something they would never dare to admit in words. Thus, we encounter some peculiar formulations. For instance, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has alleged no less than the following in an article published in the Paris LE FIGARO: "The Soviet Union is unable to fulfill the aspirations of the peoples of East Europe to renewal, as a result of which it is gradually upsetting stability in that part of Europe and gravely straining East-West relations." Disregarding what we can and cannot do with the Soviet Union's assistance, it is worth pondering over the logical somersault contained in this sentence.

It is an overt reference to the Polish situation, in which, according to the Western interpretation, the Solidarity extremists represented the aspirations to renewal. This concept deliberately confuses subversion and anarchy for renewal and the intention to revise borders for genuine stability. However, a genuine aspiration to renewal is not the privilege of some social system or force, but the vital element of all of them.

In his new year message, Francois Mitterrand, president of the Republic of France, declared: "It is necessary to break out of Yalta; one must put an end to the situation where the coexistence of the great powers is based on the division of Europe." It is to be noted that, although -- in retrospect -- the possibility of a division of Europe was inherent in the Yalta and the subsequent Potsdam agreements, it can by no means be dated from the moment of these conferences. The establishment of NATO divided Europe into two parts.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are not trying to maintain the division of Europe when they speak of stability and the need for it, but have in mind the need for an inviolability of the state borders that have developed as a consequence of World War II. However, because the continent is in fact divided -- divided along the borders of the military alliances conforming to the boundaries of socioeconomic systems -- the maintenance of the social systems of the alliances and the countries belonging to them is, for the time being, one of the prerequisites for stability. Therefore, in the case of Poland, it is those who strive to transform the social system and detach the country from the Warsaw Pact that act against stability -- that stands entirely to reason, in any case -- and not those who protect and support the system and the alliance. If Genscher accuses the Polish and Soviet governments of a destabilizing attitude, he does so only in order to have something to refer to when he intends to characterize East-West relations as being strained.

By the way, the French president noted "breaking out of Yalta" as being a new year vision permissible for a head of state and he added immediately that we must not confuse our wishes with the reality, a fact of which is division and the Polish situation (with all its antecedents and, hopefully, increasingly spreading consolidation process), as well as another of its facts -- stability.

This aspect of Polish conditions emphatically arose also at the Soviet-Polish talks that took place a few days ago. For that very reason -- it was clearly stated in the joint communique on the talks that the state of emergency has prevented an antisocialist turnabout -- Poland was and remains a socialist state and the relationship of alliance between the two countries is an important factor of European peace and stability. Which does not mean that anyone would want to return to the situation of 1 and 1/2 years ago, which, as everyone acknowledges, was one demanding a change.

Few people noticed, although the fact deserves attention, that the Polish Government delegation received in Moscow included, in addition to Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, also Roman Malinovski and Edward Kowalczyk, chairmen of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party respectively, both deputy premiers. Although the delegation was officially designated a "party-government delegation," it seems clear that representatives of the coalition forces faithful to socialism are also welcome guests in the Soviet capital.

It is blindness not to see that it is not some kind of a model of socialism, but the essence of it that is adhered to in Moscow.

This unequivocally emerges from the speech Leonid Brezhnev made at the reception held in honor of the Polish guests. He described the endeavors of the PZPR and the parties allied with it as natural and the intensification of the political activeness of the working people as inevitable and categorically stated: Not only does the development of democracy not weaken, but, on the contrary, it multiplies the power of socialism.

It is no one's fault -- we could add -- that socialism has come about in countries that did not have democratic traditions. It was probably this that made them the weakest link in the chain of the capitalist system. Everything that has taken place in Poland in the past 1 and 1/2 years -- including the introduction and enforcement of the state of emergency -- speaks rather for than against democracy and its future. However, nowhere is chaos identical with democracy. And now, following the fact that the Polish leadership has put an end to the chaos, the socialist development of democracy will be put on the agenda, and this requires economic stability, or a trend pointing toward it. Complete agreement on this was reflected by the economic aspect of the talks, in which the Soviet Union has promised its Polish partner far-reaching and extremely multifaceted support, as an integral element of the Soviet peace policy that strives for real stability in Europe, therefore, in Poland as well; in Europe, therefore, also in the world. All these are hardly separable from one another.

NEPSZABADSAG ON 'HYPOCRISY' OF U.S. POLICY

LD061854 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 6 Mar 82

[Text] Budapest, 6 Mar (MTI) -- Peter Renyi, deputy chief editor of NEPSZABADSAG, has written an article in the daily's Saturday edition about the American and American-prompted instigating actions against socialism and in this context about the hypocrisy of American policy. The article is headed "Absurd Hypocrisy".

The commentator points out that the tone and policy of the American administration have become even more aggressive lately, so that "you get the feeling that it is a competition: Who can make the more brutal and crude simplification".

"It is not easy to sell this policy, at least not to the more critical portion of the West European public. Even if the crisis in Poland came in handy and it was easy to make use of the state of emergency, with the addition of a good deal of manipulation, for propaganda purposes, how could they make people believe that the administration of the United States is guided by democratic, moral and humanitarian intentions in the anti-Soviet and anti-Polish crusade when the same government displays unmatched aggression in every part of the world. It supports scores of bloody military dictatorships and reactionary regimes, and interferes unashamedly everywhere the struggle for freedom risks its interests".

"Of course we are aware that the definitions reactionary and progressive are subjects of debate and depend on one's world conception and political view. On this point the public opinions diverge. But mere comparison of the situations and the state of things described in the news speak for themselves".

"Let us only consider what has happened in Poland and what in the countries where the United States supports shaken regimes".

"In Poland, the introduction of the military state of emergency came in the wake of one and a half years of absolutely peaceful and political agreement-seeking efforts, and the realization of the uselessness of these endeavours, in a bid to avoid fatal anarchy. The restrictions of the state of emergency are being lifted one after the other. Arms were used only in one provoked incident. In contrast, the above-mentioned "authoritarianisms" are infamous worldwide of their bloody massacres and expulsion by the ten thousand of the population, by commandoes. They physically annihilate not only the political opponents but everyone with only the shadow of suspicion of sympathizing with them. Not to speak about the self-prompted sadistic actions of the mercenaries and commandoes trained specially to kill.

"True, however absurd it may seem, that even in such a situation the Americans are flying the colors of freedom and humanitarianism. But to show sympathy towards the Poles and to stand up openly against today's Washington -- to this not even the more farsighted leaders of Western Europe have sufficient courage. In the assessment of the Polish affair, willy-nilly and step by step they give in to the pressure. But there is one point where for the time being they are unable to follow Reagan and his team if only because they do not want to lose all their credit: and this point is the hypocrisy of the American policy".

Finally the commentator states that the West European U.S. allies "feel on their own skin that the armament race forced by the United States imposes additional burdens on their budgets which are strained anyway: the higher U.S. interest rates lame their economies, cut back on investments and increase unemployment. "The U.S.-demanded sanctions against the socialist countries reduce their markets and aggravate their energy problems: there is no region of the Third World but the American actions would violate their interests. Not only and not primarily because of its tone does the American policy make the effect it does, but rather because of its intentions. It is hypocritical not only towards socialism and the national liberation movements but also towards its allies. It is the ambition to obtain exclusive power, and to expand one's authority to new and new spheres that entails this hypocritical attitude.

CRITICISM VOICED AGAINST CARIBBEAN NATO EXERCISE

LD081610 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] The United States and five other NATO countries have begun naval exercises in the Caribbean, thus underlining the threat against the revolutionary forces in Central America, Istvan Kulcsar reports from New York:

Six NATO countries will take part with 28 warships and 80 aircraft in the maneuvers, the site of which is the Gulf of Mexico and the Straits of Florida, outside the NATO area of operations. The code name for the exercises is Safe Passage. This refers to the NATO idea according to which Cuba could represent a threat to the maritime traffic between the United States and Western Europe, and that the passage must be made safe by military force. Observers note that the naval demonstration, which is to last until 18 March, is used by the United States and its allies to practice the passage toward Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador. At the very least they want to frighten the revolutionary forces of the area at a time when tension is being increased by Washington.

The fact that the place and time of Safe Passage was not chosen randomly is shown by the fact that a U.S.-Canadian naval exercise in the same area ended hardly 5 days ago and that another U.S. maneuver is to begin in the same location soon. During the latter exercises, Marines will practice landing at the U.S. base on the territory of Cuba.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW OFFICIAL REBUTS JCP CHARGES

LD081258 Prague CTK in English 1135 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Prague, 8 Mar (CTK) -- The Communist Party of Japan, which is now seeking the abolition of the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW journal, claims to play the part of a sort of supreme judge deciding what is in tune with the interests of the communist movement and what harms them, Secretary of the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW Pavel Auersperg wrote in the Czechoslovak Communist Party magazine ZIVOT STRANY.

In his article, reacting to a statement of the Japanese Communist Party Presidium of December last year that the "publication of the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW harms the international communist movement," Pavel Auersperg said that in its statement the Japanese Communist Party leadership objected against the fact that the journal is oriented on the struggle against anti-Sovietism. The parties, cooperating in the journal, regard anti-Sovietism as an insidious form of anti-communism, a tool of the aggressive policy of imperialism threatening all nations of the world.

The Japanese party's statement carried objections against criticisms of the Chinese Communist Party on the pages of the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW. However, every serious and unbiased reader can confirm that the articles by authors from the individual fraternal parties criticized only those aspects of China's foreign policy which damage the interests of these parties, Pavel Auersperg said, adding that there is a new anti-Soviet feature in the Japanese party's stand on this matter -- criticism directly linked with "antagonism between the USSR and China."

Pavel Auersperg stated that at the meeting of representatives of communist and workers parties, which reviewed the activities of the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW on November 24-26, 1981 in Prague, the Communist Party of Japan won no support from delegates of 90 parties who attended the Prague meeting.

He went on to say that Japanese comrades either ignore or distort the attitudes of other fraternal parties to the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, voiced at the Prague meeting. In this unfair manner, the Japanese Communist Party leadership tries to negate the results of a broad exchange of opinions, reduce its importance, to break up the broad consensus on the tasks of the journal, attained at the meeting.

The demand to liquidate the journal, published in 37 languages and circulated in 145 countries, can hardly be seen otherwise thatn as in inadmissible attempt of the Japanese Communist Party to impose its own line and ideas on other fraternal parties, to show disrespect of their clearly expressed wish to support the work of the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW.

The activities and role of the journal is highly evaluated by the leaders and central committees of the overwhelming majority of community and workers parties. Thus, the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW will continue to appear and be circulated throughout the world since this is required by the interests and needs of the international communist movement, the interests of struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, Pavel Auersperg said.

RAKOWSKI STOPS IN MOSCOW ON RETURN FROM HAVANA

LD081622 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Soviet Deputy Premier Nikolay Talygin received Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski today while he stopped in Moscow on his way back from Havana where he took part in the ninth session of the Polish-Cuban Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation.

JARUZELSKI VISITS ZYRARDOW FLAX ENTERPRISE

LD081844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] On International Women's Day Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the party Central Committee, premier, and chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation paid a visit lasting almost 2-1/2 hours to the 1905 Revolution flax industry enterprise in Zyrardow, where about 70 percent of 4,000 plus work force are women. During his working visit Wojciech Jaruzelski visited weaving machines, spinning apparatus, and other work stations, and greeted the working women on their day. Wojciech Jaruzelski showed a lively interest not only in the working conditions, which are difficult in some departments, but also in personal problems connected with everyday life. Wojciech Jaruzelski was also informed about the implementation of the economic reform at the enterprise and the course of discussion on the future of the trade unions, and on the activity of the enterprise's social commission.

JABLONSKI ON U.S. SANCTIONS, NEED FOR WORK

LD082004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Excerpts] The most important directions of the work of the local organs of state authorities at the voivodship level, in the light of the current sociopolitical situation of the country and in the context of the provisions of the 1982 economic plan were the subject of today's session of the chairmen of voivodship people's councils. The session was chaired by Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, and was attended by the representatives of the party Central Committee, the Executive Committee of the ZSL and the SD Central Committee as well as members of the government.

The chairman of the Council of State said that is is now possible to see clearly the huge extent of the results of last year's anarchization of political, economic and social life. A vast amount of persistent work is now needed to lift the country from its profound decline. The extent of the difficulties is all the greater, Henryk Jablonski said, as we must, at the same time, stand up to the challenge thrown down by the American administration and to the economic sanctions applied by it and by some NATO countries; these sanctions are hampering the revival of the Polish economy and exacerbate our already considerable difficulties, but they will not succeed in shifting us away from the path we have chosen.

Next Zbigniew Madej, deputy premier and chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, spoke about the economic situation and the provisions of the national socio-economic plan. He said that the Polish national economy has regressed by several years in many fields. We now need some 5 or 6 years of hard work in order to extricate ourselves from the present crisis at its current level. It can be expected that the Polish economy will begin to rise from the crisis, but not before the second half of 1982. If we achieve a 4-5 percent rise then the whole of 1982 could be regarded as the first year of economic reanimation. The main condition of the implementation of our plans, however, lies in public peace and order. We are also taking into account a gradual attenuation of economic sanctions which are opposed by business circles in the United States and West Europe.

JUSTICE MINISTER ZAWADZKI BRIEFS CORRESPONDENTS

LD081454 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Mar (PAP) -- At a news conference with foreign correspondents held at the Foreign Ministry's press centre here today Polish minister of justice, Prof. Sylwester Zawadzki presented a number of interesting data concerning the internees and isolation centres, spoke of compatibility of the proclamation of martial law in Poland with the Polish Constitution and the continuation of the legislative process.

The conference, which was chaired by the Government's Press Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban, was also attended by Deputy Justice Minister Maria Regent-Lechowicz and head of the Internal Ministry Bureau of Investigations Hipolit Starszak.

The minister of justice presented the compatibility of the introduction of martial law with Poland's internal law and the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. He also quoted a number of data which attest to Poland's observance of international laws and obligations in connection with the introduction of martial law.

Foreign press, radio and TV correspondents accredited in Warsaw took a great interest in the current information concerning the internment centres and the number of internees. The minister told the correspondents that Polish authorities were gradually releasing the internees and said that 3,953 persons remained at these centres at present.

He also informed them broadly about the possibilities to leave Poland, granted to persons released from internment centres, as well as about the easing of restrictions on the tourist traffic from and to Poland. He spoke at length about the favourably developing cooperation with the International Red Cross in organizing assistance for the internees.

Minister Zawadzki informed the newsmen that in spite of the proclamation of martial law, the Sejm (parliament) and its committees were conducting an animated activity. He also stressed the legislative work was continued to put into effect the laws connected with the economic reform and democratic renewal of Poland's social and political life, among them the laws on the constitutional tribunal and the tribunal of state.

Minister Zawadzki discussed the legal aspects of martial law, in view of the fact that the problem of the legality of the latter is being continually raised in the West. He presented this problem from the point of view of the doctrine of constitutional and international law, with special emphasis on the civic and political rights covenant, as well as from the point of view of the internal law of the Polish Constitution.

Making a reference to Article 4 of the above covenant, the justice minister discussed Poland's observance of the requirements included in it. He said the state security in Poland was highly threatened, and under growing influence of extremist forces within the Solidarnosc leadership it posed a real threat to the nation's existence. Growing confrontational symptoms led the country to the verge of a civil war, the minister declared. In this context he pointed to the last session of the Solidarnosc National Commission in Gdansk and also to the session in Radom, and said this trend was accompanied by growing economic chaos, due mainly to strike terrorism.

The developments in Poland prior to last December 13 threatened substantial international consequences, Prof. Zawadzki said.

The decision on the proclamation of martial law could no longer be postponed after attempts to reach political agreement failed. Hence, the situation which occurred in Poland was the kind for which the covenant envisages the declaration of martial law or state of emergency.

Speaking about the draft law on trade unions, Minister Zawadzki expressed an opinion that it should take into account the unions' participation in multiplying the national income. The unions cannot operate in disregard of law, he added. The draft law should be based on the convention of the International Labour Organization. Unions should enjoy the right to strike, but excluding strike terrorism which was used in Poland, he said.

In reply to the correspondents' questions Minister Zawadzki said that there are 25 internment centres in Poland at present, and that their number has decreased owing to the fact that internees are being gradually released.

Lech Walesa's legal status at the moment is one of an interree, the minister declared. Walesa is staying at a separate place of detention, he said.

Answering a question on how many persons released from internment centres voiced willingness to leave Poland, head of the Bureau of Investigations Col Hipolit Starszak said there have been only ten-odd of them so far. Their applications will be considered like normal applications for permission to leave Poland, he declared.

Answered further questions Prof. Zawadzki said that in the period of martial law some 1,000 cases were summarily submitted to by courts.

The most numerous cases are those concerning criminal offences, chiefly theft and burglary, robbery etc. There were 800 of them so far, and their large number is connected with the general growth of delinquency in the period prior to Dec 13, he said.

The second most numerous groups of cases were those connected with the organization of strikes. 184 suits against 374 persons accused of this illegal activity were filed with courts. 131 suits against 277 accused have been examined so far, with 49 of the defendants being acquitted. In three cases the court resolved not to apply punishment.

Asked whether such persons like, for instance, Edward Gierek and other members of Poland's former leadership who are interned will be allowed to leave Poland, the Government's Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban siad that martial law has imposed restrictions on travels abroad and explained that it is not envisaged that persons bearing responsibility for their past activity and likely to appear before the constitutional tribunal or the tribunal of state will be given the possibility to leave Poland.

Minister Urban also stated that the sanctions of arrest were applied to two priests only: to Father Jewulski who received a court sentence for instigating against legal order and the state, and to the recently detained priest who was involved in the murder of police sergeant in Warsaw.

Deputy Justice Minister Maria Regent-Lechowicz said that the huge anti-Polish campaign launched in the West at the inspiration of the United States cannot be defined otherwise than illegal, violating the principle of non-interference into internal affairs of a state.

Poland as a sovereign state executes its rights resulting from the norms of international law including the civil and political rights convenant, the U.N. declarations and the Helsinki Final Act. In the light of those documents, to which Poland is a signatory, economic sanctions against Poland and limitations on the activity of Polish diplomatic missions do not have any legal grounds, Deputy Minister Regent-Lechowicz stressed.

Further Details

LD090936 Warsaw PAP in English 0811 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 8 Mar (PAP) -- Justice Minister Professor Sylwester Zawadzki gave a number of interesting data about internees. Internment centres, the compatibility of martial law proclaimed in Poland with the Polish Constitution and about continuing the legislative process. At a press conference for foreign correspondents at the Foreign Ministry's press centre here today.

Current reports on the internment centres and the number of internees aroused great interest of correspondents of the foreign press, radio and TV accredited in Poland. The minister said that the authorities are gradually releasing internees and that at the present moment 3,953 persons are staying at these centres.

As is known, the interned persons can take advantage of facilities in leaving Poland. This has nothing to do with banishment because the departure is voluntary and these persons can return to Poland provided that they respect the binding public order.

When examining this problem, S. Zawadzki and J. Urban pointed to the lack of understanding of this question and distortion of the intentions of Polish authorities by the centres ill-disposed or hostile to Poland. The internment is not a punishment but the protection of the interests of the state against the activity of persons whose earlier attitude made it possible to suppose that they will not respect the binding legal order of martial law. Looking for the most humanitarian ways of protecting the state, the Polish Government deemed it proper that obstacles should not be made to those people among the internees who would like to settle abroad. The aim of this decision is not reprisals but rather the possibility of making a choice. The persons who will choose to leave Poland will do so as Polish citizens. In keeping with the binding passport regulations and will remain Polish citizens. Each Polish citizen has the right to come back even with an invalid passport.

CSSR BORDER GUARDS SHOOT POLISH CITIZEN

LD090252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] The military garrison prosecutor's office in Krakow reports that there has been an increase in attempts to illegally cross our southern border during the past few months. It is mostly young people from 15 to 18, who try to get out of the country and go to Austria through Czechoslovakia. Not a single attempt to illegally cross the Polish-Czechoslovak border has been successful. However, an event has taken place which might have serious consequences. You see, Czechoslovak soldiers shot a Pole during an unsuccessful attempt to cross the border.

A spokesman for the military garrison prosecutor's office in Krakow has also reported frequent cases of secondary school students being exploited to distribute illegal pamphlets. For example, seven pupils were detained in Krzeszowice for this activity. A military court has given them sentences ranging from 1 to 1 and 1/2 years, suspended for 3 years.

ARMY DAILY REBUTS CHARGES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

LD091002 Warsaw PAP in English 0847 GMT 9 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (PAP) -- The army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today refers to another virulent turn in the anti-Polish campaign carried on by the (?Western) media of psychological warfare. The daily writes:

"In connection with allegations about anti-Semitism and persecution of priests, it is worth noting that no one in Poland is persecuted, interned or arrested for the sole reason of being a Jew, Turk, Tartar, German or Indian by ancestry. Neither is anyone persecuted in any way for his creed and religious (?practice), or for wearing the frock of a Catholic or Protestant priest or a rabbi.

"But no one in Poland, by virtue of the position he holds, the function he performs, the nationality he comes from, or his lay or priesty profession, can count on any privileges of special treatment. All of the Polish citizens are equal before the law -- as stipulated by the Polish Constitution and confirmed by its practice. Therefore, irrespective of whether one is a voivod, a party committee secretary, a state official, a military officer, a worker, a farmer, a rabbi or a Catholic priest, he will be judged and punished in compliance with the laws binding in Poland, if he commits an offence."

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI'S Colonel W. Zielinski in conclusion challenged the subversive Western radios to mention at least one Western state in which one's nationality or robe gives one a special privilege or immunity from legal responsibility.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS DELEGATION'S MOSCOW VISIT

LD090936 Warsaw PAP in English 0843 GMT 9 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (PAP) -- Referring to the PUWP Central Committee Politburo Bureau's statement and the Council of Minister's communique on the Moscow visit by the Polish party-state delegation, the party daily TRYBUNA LUDU writes today that from the Polish viewpoint, two weighty aspects of the visit are especially noteworthy.

"Firstly, the USSR's profound understanding of the effort undertaken in effect of the introduction of martial law in Poland to extricate the country from a heavy crisis with a view to an all-round restoration of socialism in this country."

"The second aspect of the Moscow visit by the Polish party and state delegation deals with practical conclusions stemming from the above-mentioned Soviet support for Poland. This is a qualitatively new stage of our partnerly, long-term economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire CEMA community."

"Owing to the results of the Polish-Soviet talks, every necessary condition has been provided for reinforcing our country's international position, for the Polish People's Republic's moving into the foreground of the world front of struggle for peace, security and social progress."

"The latest Polish-Soviet talks resulted in real signposts for a new, better, genuinely socialist tomorrow of our homeland."

"This is their crucial result, the most suggestive manifestation of the Polish-Soviet community of interests and goals," winds up the party daily.

DPA: GORNICKI REVEALS RESULTS OF MOSCOW TALKS

LD052028 Hamburg DPA in German 1929 GMT 5 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Mar (DPA) -- The conduct of the Federal Republic and its people toward Poland during the past few weeks has effected a "psychological turning point" in relations between Poles and Germans, according to Maj Wieslaw Gornicki, spokesman of the Polish Military Council, who is considered a close confidant of Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski. He was speaking in an interview with KOELNER STADTANZEIGER.

Gornicki emphasized in particular that the Federal Republic had been the only country to observe its international obligations to Poland. The fact that Poland would in future turn increasingly toward the Eastern bloc CEMA does not mean that Poland could or wants to keep the West at arm's length, despite Western sanctions.

Referring to his latest visit to Moscow in Jaruzelski's entourage, Gornicki mentioned the surprisingly "generous" attitude of the Kremlin leadership toward the "Polish peculiarities," such as the position of the church, private agriculture and the freedom of culture. "It was more than we had expected," Gornicki indicated.

In reaction to Western sanctions, it was agreed that Moscow will promptly provide urgently required supplies of raw materials and spare parts, hitherto supplied by the West. In addition, the Soviet Union will be giving hard currency credits to enable Poland to pay, among other things, the interest on Western credits.

In the medium term, the Soviet Union will help to overcome that crisis which could be expected as a result of the greatly reduced investments, especially during the past 18 months, and as a result of the Western sanctions, which have strongly hampered or completely stopped production in many Polish enterprises. Furthermore, the economic reform that will introduce market forces as controlling instruments and profit orientation as a crucial element can be expected to lead to 200-300 enterprise bankruptcies. It is feared that for these reasons around 400,000 citizens could become unemployed.

Finally, the two countries decided on a long-term economic and industrial division of labor. However, details about that will be discussed and agreed on during the coming months.

SIWAK INTERVIEWED ON PRAGUE TV DURING VISIT

LD061322 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1955 GMT 5 Mar 82

[Interview with Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo with unidentified Prague television correspondents, during Siwak's current visit to the CSSR; interview conducted in Polish with superimposed Czech translation -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Siwak, the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum has become an important stage in the life of your party. How can one characterize its main results?

[Answer] It is essential to stress that already last year a very important sixth plenary session took place, which adopted and endorsed resolutions which prepared the ground well for the party and government to decide to declare a state of emergency on 13 December and to institute other measures. One could say that only thanks to that were we able to hold the seventh plenary session in totally different conditions, substantially more favorable for our party. The seventh plenary session dealt with three most important matters. I have in mind the resolution, the declaration and the question concerning the consolidation of our party.

As far as the resolution is concerned, it has a very decisive and unequivocal character.

It talks about things that tended to be neglected in the life of the party in the past; for instance, that the party serves the nation and, therefore, does not merely fulfill the leading role. The resolution talks a great deal about modesty on the part of party members and, in particular, of those who hold office. The resolution specifies who can hold office and who cannot, which is very important.

The second thing is the declaration. We began to formulate it at the seventh plenary session. It has not been approved yet. This will be done at the eighth plenary session and its draft will now be discussed in the primary organizations of the party, that is at lower levels. The title of the declaration is: What We Are Fighting for and Where We Are Heading. In this respect we are following up on the tradition of the Polish working class in the period of 1945-46. This is very important since our current struggle is of a similar character to the one during that period. It is waged against the self-same political enemy.

The third important question is the problem of the consolidation of the party in the current stage. Our concern is to ensure that only those people who believe in what they are doing remain in the party and that these people be active, especially in the political sense, demonstrating that the party has chosen a correct line and a correct aim. We have placed great emphasis on the consolidation of our party.

[Question] What is the reaction of workers to the conclusions of the seventh plenary session?

[Answer] They are very strong. A number of questions have aroused the interest of the working class in a positive sense, specifically the fact, for instance, that the party is really purging itself. Three members of the Central Committee were expelled at the seventh plenary session. This constitutes the first stage of replacing cadres within the party which cannot, naturally, take place only at lower levels but which must also proceed within the leadership of the party and within its own Central Committee. There, too, we are ridding the party of people who acted against us and who did not have quite the right stand. This has met with a positive response.

I regard, however, as the most positive thing the way the question concerning the consolidation of the party has been received. Even workers who are not party members want to see in it a party that is united, consolidated and without serious political contradictions. Comrade Jaruzelski, too, stressed this requirement. He placed emphasis on the question of the consolidation of the party and on the pursuit of a united political line. This, too, has met with a considerable response.

[Question] Comrade Siwak, what are the main conditions of the strength of your party and its ability to take actions?

[Answer] We will have to lean above all on the working class and on the working-class members of the party. I have in mind the four workers who are members of the Central Committee Politburo. I have in mind the fact that in our Central Committee there are 86 workers, 30 peasants and around 30 members of the security services and the armed forces. It is the first time in our country that power rests to such a degree in the hands of the working class and this provides us with a guarantee that the Polish people, the working people, will have confidence in such a workers' party. We rely on the fact that workers will participate jointly in management and we see in this a very positive and important factor.

[Question] What is your view on the future development of the trade union movement in Poland and by which criteria will it have to be guided?

[Answer] Yes. This is an enormous problem. You, too, in Czechoslovakia know that those 16 months in Poland have created chaos in the thinking of our people. Why? The first months of Solidarity's activity were welcomed by some Poles. They believed that this would be a true organization of the working class, which would concern itself honestly with issues concerning the defense of workers' interests. After 2 or 3 months, we all came to understand, although not all could bring themselves to admit it, that Solidarity was no longer a trade union organization but an opposition political party which was joined by people from the Confederation for an Independent Poland, from the Workers Defense Committee, by people who have been closely linked with Western reaction from whom they were getting their mercenary money, of which we have a lot of evidence. These people concerned themselves with politics and not with trade union problems.

The period of those 16 months fragmented our working class totally. It splintered it into various trade union organizations. I have in mind the branch trade unions, possessing a distinctly socialist character, which supported our party and the government. Furthermore, we had the autonomous trade unions which did not want to belong either to the branch trade unions or to Solidarity. And finally, Solidarity itself which was proclaiming that it wanted to be a trade union organization but which became an opposition political party.

The branch trade union movement was riduculed by Solidarity. At the same time none of its officials has been taken to court now and there is not a single case of the misuse of power, of the appropriation of money, of an official building a house or a week-end cottage with somebody else's funds.

On the contrary, we can boast that we have been able to provide during this period rest homes, works recreational facilities and summer camps for children; we have had major international contacts and exchanges which Solidarity did not have and which it did not strive to attain. We have truly looked after the working people and their problems.

People whose eyes have now been opened want to form a single, strong trade union organization, a class-based, worker-based solid organization, leaning on people who know the sweat of labor, who know the price of bread, who know the problem of the struggle for workers' interests.

I am convinced that although perhaps not during the first months -- because it is difficult to convince everyone -- but already in the foreseeable future, branch trade unions will come into existence leaning exclusively on trade unions [as heard], that these will be unions associated in one federation or a league, that they will have a leadership which will represent trade unions in dealing with the government and party leadership and likewise abroad in contacts with foreign trade-union organizations. I am talking about such trade unions because our working class, too, is talking about such trade unions, socialist trade unions which will adopt as their credo the Leninist line, a line of the defense of the working class. They will be trade unions which will defend the real interests of the working class for ever and which will never again let the reins of initiative be taken away from them. This is how I see the new trade unions and other workers see them in the same light. This is how we are talking in our country about trade unions and it will be such trade unions to whom the future in Poland will belong.

[Question] Since the proclamation of the state of emergency one has been able to observe in Poland a great many improvements. At the same time we know that the economic situation continues to remain very difficult.

[Answer] Yes, the situation is very complicated and difficult because Reagan's embargo, about which there is so much talk in the world, is affecting us very strongly. It was not a good thing that in the past we concluded the majority of agreements with the West, that we relied primarily on Western supplies and cooperated with Western enterprises on which raw materials and prefabricated units [prefabrikaty] had to depend. As a result of the sanctions a situation has now arisen in which many of our enterprises are in danger of becoming idle because of a shortage of spare parts, raw materials and machinery components.

This is hurting us, at the same time I would like to stress that the helping hand offered to us by the socialist states is alleviating the pain a great deal, shortening the time that plants have to be idle. It is a well known fact that we shall be getting, for instance, maize, which has been refused us by the West, from Hungary and Yugoslavia, we are also getting many essential things and raw materials from the GDR and Czechoslovakia, large additional deliveries of crude oil, grain and other products will be provided to us above all by the Soviet Union. This will enable us to overcome the first blast of the consequences of the American embargo.

Good labor discipline in our plants today constitutes a very positive fact. Coal output, which was especially low during the past 16 months, has improved radically. That area had a very negative impact on the Polish economy and on export. We were practically unable to export coal at all. We would not have had enough of it to heat apartments in towns during the winter months had not radical changes occured on 13 December last year.

Today we are able to say that production in factories is developing successfully and that the output in mines is on the way up. On this basis we can state that we are beginning, gradually, to overcome the consequences of the crisis. Very difficult periods are still ahead of us and the working people are conscious of the fact that we shall have to tighten our belts, so to speak, for some time to come.

KRAKOW PAPER INTERVIEWS POLITBURO MEMBER OPALKA

PM051013 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 24 Feb 82 pp 1,3,4

[Stefan Cieply interview with Stanislaw Opalka, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo first secretary of Tarnow PZPR Voivodship Committee: "Emergence From the Crisis Would Make the Authorities and Party Credible, Which Is the Main Prerequisite for Emergence From the Political Crisis" -- date and place of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] Comrade Secretary, I would like to begin this interview by putting to you the following question: Was the introduction of martial law inevitable? Despite the well-known arguments in its favor, it continues to be discussed by the Polish people, and I doubt whether history will soon free us from it....

[Answer] In my opinion, it was inevitable. And its introduction should not be seen in any way as an attempt to save the party. Martial law was necessary to save the nation and the country: the nation from fratricidal war and the country from the complications which would necessarily ensue from it. Martial law has undoubtedly created difficulties for the public, but the restrictions are temporary and they will be withdrawn as general stabilization progresses.

[Question] In the arguments in favor of the introduction of martial law advanced so far such notions as "anarchy spreading throughout the country" and "economic ruin threatening us" have been used....

[Answer] No martial law is needed either to deal with hooliganism or to rescue the economy. However, the nation and the state were endangered. It would have been laughable if we had introduced martial law merely because of the above-mentioned reasons.

[Question] I may be mistaken but I have the impression that the Tarnow region has seemed quiet. In fact there have been no strikes apart from the Solidarity-organized strikes, for it is difficult to treat seriously the antics of kindergarten teachers who were interested in improving school conditions. In view of this, how many people have been interned in the voivodship and how many of them have already been released?

[Answer] During 2 months of martial law 52 persons have been interned in the Tarnow Voivodship and 18 of them have already been released. I have no figures for the country as a whole available at the moment, but they have been published. At first sight it looks as if the view that our region is quiet has been confirmed. Let me add that further releases are being considered. I would also like to emphasize that, with no exception, there have been no strikes in our region since martial law was introduced. This speaks well, among other things, for the maturity of trade union organizations....

[Question] Comrade Secretary, it is being said that Poland has been plunged into a political, moral and economic crisis. There are links between these facets of the crisis but there also are dissimilarities. In your opinion, where is the key to an improvement in the situation to be found?

[Answer] Personally, I believe that the first thing to do is gradually to liquidate the economic crisis, and I do not believe this merely because as a result of my life experience economic matters are of great interest to me. For emergence from the economic crisis would make the authorities -- or, in other words, the party -- credible, and this in turn is the main prerequisite for overcoming the political crisis.

[Question] Meanwhile we continue to observe a fall in production, even compared with the "strikebound" January 1981 when strikes took place in support of the demand for work-free Saturdays....

[Answer] A fall in production causes no surprise because, after all, the fact that the year 1981 gave way to the year 1982 has resolved nothing. The volume of stocks, raw materials and foreign exchange has not increased -- on the contrary.

So it has been impossible to order essential components needed by many sectors of the economy from countries of the so-called second payment area because there has been no money to pay for them. But if miners extract more coal, copper and sulfur -- as seems likely -- in the first quarter, it will be possible to sell these products in the second quarter and, at the same time, place orders for the most urgently needed raw materials and parts which should be delivered during the third quarter, so that an improvement will be noticeable during the fourth quarter. The year 1982 is difficult, maybe most difficult, for the economy and the state.

[Question] Economic reform was supposed to be the answer to unnecessary imports. We have apparently already begun to implement it, but the community is hardly aware of the fact....

[Answer] The results of the reform will not be noticeable immediately. No complete package of Sejm bills has yet been prepared. I believe that without self-management it will be impossible to take adequate advantage of independence. No reform without self-management can be complete -- at least, this is what I think. However, self-management has merely been postponed. After all, the idea of introducing it has not been abandoned, just as the idea of restoring trade union activities has not been abandoned. Both self-management and a trade union movement will exist. After all, great hopes are pinned on the initiatory role of self-management and on the monitoring role of the trade unions -- with respect to prices, for instance.

[Question] Discussion of a model for a trade union movement is just beginning. May I ask what your view on the subject is?

[Answer] The party will initiate in enterprises a debate on the shape of any trade union movement. It will force its own concept on no one and it will be willing to listen to the views of the workforce. Personally, I believe that it would be a good thing if one trade union operated in the enterprises and that this would be advantageous to the enterprises concerned. However, the concept of two or three trade unions operating in a plant also seems acceptable provided we accept the principle -- which prevails in France, for instance -- that only one executive body elected by the workforce from among candidates of all trade unions is to operate at the enterprise level. However, it seems to me that any regional structure is unacceptable because from the very nature of things it would be political. Throughout the world, trade unions have a branch profile. This must simply be realized. Trade unions must not usurp the role of political opposition, but this does not mean that they could not adopt a critical attitude toward any specific political decision.

[Question] Certain restrictions ensuing from martial law -- such as lack of Telex and automatic telephone communications -- have also hampered the implementation of the economic reform. Is this not so?

[Answer] Obviously. There has also been a lack of international communications. However, I have already stated my views on the higher necessity of introducing martial law at the beginning of this interview. Do you believe, comrade editor, that only the reform has been hindered by the lack of communications? Do you not believe that it also hampers the authorities? They would also like to restore them as soon as possible, but domestic peace is a prerequisite for this.

[Question] A thesis is current that a relaxation of martial law is a precondition for domestic peace.

[Answer] Comrade editor, If there were any premises in favor of this thesis, the authorities would certainly not hesitate to do just that.

[Question] Comrade Secretary, I entertain yet another doubt with respect to the reform. Well, a mass madre movement has begun in enterprises in connection with some people's early retirement. I know some university graduates under 50 who have worked in their profession 30 years, because the years of study are also included. Retirement regulations also apply to them. As a result, the middle generation has not only to shoulder the burden of providing for children and young people and extricating the country from the crisis but also to accept responsibility for a rapidly increasing number of retired people who, professionally, are still fully effective. Even though a number of enterprises has to occasionally remain idle because of shortage of raw materials, the situation may change in the near future, as you, Comrade Secretary, have already mentioned. Can we afford such an operation which, I suspect, will affect several million people?

[Answer] I have some across this subject at all meetings in industrial enterprises, and since the introduction of martial law I have met all but two of the larger workforces in the region. People have been asking: Are we rich enough? I must admit that I have found it rather difficult to convince them that this step is correct. Personally, I have also been upset by the fact that the people involved will remain idle. I realize that after a short rest they will feel injured and feel that they have been debarred from active life.

[Question] Comrade Secretary, when discussing the difficulties ensuing from the economic crisis I find it difficult not to ask you about the trends appearing in the agricultural sector. The market of agricultural and food products is the most meaningful reflection of a crisis situation....

[Answer] I agree with you. Agriculture is an essential branch of the economy which needs not only attention but also and especially some specific and rapid action which would consistently switch industry over to production for the requirements of agriculture. However, people are not interested in this. People want to know when we will meet their requirements and, obviously, not many years must be allowed to elapse before this is done. But it is also known that unless the rural areas become civilized and technically developed, no young people will go there. There is clearly a danger that the amount of uncultivated land will increase, meanwhile the permanence of individual peasant farms will soon be legally confirmed. However, this is still not enough. Adequate agrotechnical means -- that is, fertilizers and plant-protection agents -- must be ensured. And yet until 1985 only one fertilizer plant -- at Police -- is to be built, and so until then the production of fertilizers will not increase. Therefore we must utilize rationally what we have....

[Question] Meanwhile the country dwellers are anxious and fearful that compulsory deliveries will be introduced.

[Answer] Only as a last resort. This question should not be taken into consideration. But farmers must also remember that they also have some duties toward the community. And that grain and food must be supplied. Not only the state must give -- and how can it considering that nearly 80 percent of the land belongs to peasants. Now, in this difficult year, when we appeal to farmers to supply grain, we also have an answer to the question about sociopolitical consciousness in rural areas. It is an answer that arouses considerable alarm. In Tarnow region, for instance, we intend to buy 8,000 tons of grain. If we fail to purchase that amount we will be unable to supply bread. And we cannot fail to supply bread. Surely what I am saying is clear....

[Question] While talking to the first secretary of the voivodship party organization I find it difficult not to ask about his assessment of the situation in the party.

[Answer] It is similar to the situation prevailing in the country. We are consolidating our forces, even though we are not doing it fast enough in relation to our needs. In the Tarnow region the rural organizations are the weakest. We have observed there not only losses but insufficient activeness.

We have been trying to change this situation both by suggesting subjects which would interest these organizations and be socially acceptable and by inspiring social activities which have never lost their meaning in the countryside. And they can be justified by the fact that they not only fulfill social needs but also help to unite us.

[Question] And what about the industrial sector?

[Answer] We have observed a considerable improvement in the situation in enterprise organizations. Things are getting stabilized. Party cards are no longer given up. We do not treat people who have left the party as adversaries. Many of them decided to leave because they are disillusioned and bitter. After all, they are not hostile to socialism and they must not, therefore, be treated as outcasts. Rather, it is necessary to understand them and help them rediscover their identity.

[Question] But some had to leave....

[Answer] The purge of dishonest people from the ranks must be a continuous process. This is absolutely beyond discussion. The crisis has revealed to us yet another truth -- namely, that the party must also purge itself ideologically. Anyone who does not agree with its program and does not identify himself with it should also leave. And he should not be allowed back. Ideological unity is also extremely important for party cohesion.

And it is not a question of an empty slogan but, for instance, of an issue as topical at present as that of determining our attitude toward Solidarity. Now during the very first week following the introduction of martial law we sent a communication concerning the PZPR voivodship committee's attitude toward the trade union movement to all primary party organizatins throughout the voivodship. We believe that Solidarity members should sit on social and pricing committees and that it is absolutely imperative to refrain from following the principle that, unlike the others, former Branch Trade Union members are "our people. Indeed this would be an elementary mistake of an ideological nature. The party's main task is to recover the confidence of both its rank and file and the community. This is why the principle of social justice must not be abandoned anywhere. The communist movement arose out of a search for social justice. Provided we fulfill people's expectations in this sphere, confidence will be restored.

VICE PREMIER JEDYNAK VIEWS FARMING NEEDS

AU081730 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Mar 82 p 6

[PAP report: "Larger Supplies of Machines for Individual Farmers -- Difficulties With Tractors and Tires -- Spare parts -- Industrial Supplies for Rural Area']

[Text] Your PAP correspondent had an interview with Vice Premier Andrzej Jedynak on problems of supplying agriculture with industrial means of production. In his answers, the vice premier said, among other things:

Industry is still unable to meet agriculture's needs, and this inability has increased in the past few years, which has given rise to commentaries on this sector of economic activity.

It is true that in the past period industry has developed its potential for producing farming equipment, but this has been mainly in the case of machinery for large farms. As a result, small and simple machines required by individual farms, which account for some 75 percent of the total farming area, have not been available to the necessary extent. At the end of 1980 the technical equipment available to agriculture in terms of zlotys per 1 hectare of farming land amounted to Z14,500 for all agriculture, and to Z21,400 for socialized agriculture and Z12,000 for individual agriculture.

This year the structure of supplies of farming machines is changing because of the increased supplies of such machines. This year the machines assigned for individual farming will account for some 60 percent of all supplies of machines, and the situation is similar in the sector of mineral fertilizers and plant protection chemicals. The level of production of these articles -- especially of plant protection chemicals -- depends on imports of compounds from the dollar zone. Although we greatly increased expenditures for that purpose in 1981 -- about 100 percent compared with 1980 -- there is a great shortage of such compounds.

Industry responded to the poor supplies of technical equipment for farming as early as 1980, mainly through changes in the structure of production of farming machinery in that it increased the production of machines for individual farms, won new producers of farming machines in other sectors of industry, and switched the production of some factories from capital goods to farming machines in demand.

The results of those actions were visible as early as 1981. The production of farming supplies was given a kind of protection under the conditions of economic recession. The 13-percent drop in production in 1981 compared with 1980 was accompanied by an increase of over 30 percent in the production of farming machines.

The production of farming machines and installations was included in the 1982 operational program, providing for a further 25-percent increase in production. In January, when industrial production dropped by 14 percent compared with January 1981, the production of farming machines increased 16.5 percent. We assume that the supplies of the most wanted machines will increase 88 percent in 1982 compared with 1981. The production of some groups of machines should increased 2 to 4 times compared with 1981. This applied to equipment such as milk coolers, tractor drawn disc harrows, soil cutters, diggers, dung spreaders and horse-drawn harvesters. This year we expect to fully meet the needs for 65 varieties of machines and tools.

Unfortunately, this year there will be no improvement in the supplies of tractors. The government decisions in this regard will produce tangible results only within a few years. We assume that the industry will be able to fully meet the individual farms' needs for equipment as of 1985.

In the past period, farmers experienced much trouble with a shortage of so-called simple farming tools and auxiliary equipment, but this year we expect further improvements in their supplies.

Two operational programs have been worked out with a view to intensifying farm production through supplies of the means of production such as mineral fertilizers, plant protection chemicals as well as machines and installations. What are the implications of these operational programs?

The shortages of materials, especially of the imported materials and those supplied under cooperation schemes, hit the industry most. The inclusion of these materials in the operational programs increases the priority of their supply and greatly guarantees the implementation of production. There may be periodic difficulties caused by the capitalist countries' intensification of curbs on trade with our country.

Our state's payment ability will also play a crucial role in that, depending on the level of our food imports. It should be stressed at this point that we expect farmers to commit themselves to implementing those parts of the operations programs involving food supplies, which are to a great extent instrumental in the feasibility of other parts.

The agricultural circles, which provide services for small farms, have also been taken into account in the scheme for supplying agriculture with technical equipment for cultivation. We should not forget that industry is beginning to operate under the

new system stipulated by the economic reform, and that this should help adjust production to the needs of the market. The same element of cost effectiveness analysis will determine the farms' requirements for machines and services supplied by the agricultural circles' cooperatives. I believe that this will help us avoid complications in the sphere of costs.

The preferences granted to agricultural supplies make it possible to obtain resources to pay for imported materials even at the expense of other sectors of the economy. We received many raw materials -- for example, those for the production of nitrogen and potassium fertilizers -- from the socialist countries, mainly from the USSR, under long-term trade agreements. Some plant protection chemicals and most of the raw materials needed for production of phosphorus fertilizers are imported mainly from the dollar zone. The domestic production of some plant protection chemicals is also based on imports of compounds from capitalist countries. The actual level of such imports is almost wholly determined by our state's payment ability.

Whereas the supplies of plant protection chemicals are determined by imports -- it would be too much to expect our own emergency production in this sector -- it is possible to obtain rapid results in the sector of tires, which are an important factor in the level of production of some farming machines, and of batteries. We have so far not used recycled tires in the production of farming machines, and the share of such tires in the supplies of new tires does not exceed 10 percent. Some 30 percent of the material used for the production of new tires is needed to recycle old tires. We could also improve to some extent the useful life of batteries, many of which go to waste because they are not subjected to basic servicing.

Random control checks have revealed a number of omissions in this regard, which means that the crucial hard currency curbs on our economy do not have to be felt 100 percent by our agriculture. There are great opportunities for conservation, provided people show more care and thriftiness in daily activities.

Some 70-80 percent of farming machines in the units subordinated to the ministry of agriculture and in the cooperatives are ready for the spring farming campaign. The production of spare parts is one crucial element of the preparedness of machines for work. We estimate that this year 78 percent of the demand for spare parts will be met, compared with 72 percent last year. The fact is that only a few standard spare parts, that are always in short supply, determine the preparedness of machines: spare parts for imported machines and for tractor engines as well as engine auxiliary equipment such as filters. The problem of filters should be completely solved this year. Also, the most tiresome shortage of crankshafts for tractors will be alleviated this year. However, this will not be enough to fully meet the needs of agriculture's technical base. This is why we will have to resort to recycling on an even greater scale.

Aside from the spare parts that are still in short supply, the Agroma storage facilities are stocked with spare parts double the level of their sales in the first quarter of 1981.

REPORTAGE OF PZPR LEADERSHIP ACTIVITY

Olszowski at Radio-TV Meeting

LD081826 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] The first policy conference since the declaration of martial law has been held at the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs.

Taking part were heads of the top editorial boards of radio and television and of regional broadcasting stations, and local television centers, and also the party aktiv of the committee.

Wladyslaw Loranc, chairman of the committee, outlined the tasks following the seventh party central committee plenum.

Present at the conference were Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee; Major General Albin Zyto, deputy chief of the Main Political Department of the Polish Army; and (Czeslaw Rowinski) deputy head of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PZPR Central Committee.

Madej at Voivodship Meeting

LD082212 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1850 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Excerpts] A conference of chairmen of voivodship people's councils has been held in Warsaw.

Vice-Premier Zbigniew Madej, chairman of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers, discussed the provisions of the national socioeconomic plan. He said: The first positive symptoms in our national economy have appeared in the industries which are based on domestic raw materials. The situation is worse in those fields of industry dependent on imports. The socialist countries have hastened to our assistance to prevent the effects of economic sanctions applied to Poland. The plan for imports from socialist countries will be 18 percent higher in the first quarter of 1982, in comparison with the corresponding period in 1981. This is the first tangible sign of the reorientation of the Polish national economy.

Poland continues to be open to contacts with the West but it rejects any diktat. We also wish to negotiate more advantageous conditions for the repayment of our indebtedness than those in 1981.

As regards agricultural matters, soon after Sejm's approval of a change in the civil code, individual farmers will obtain legal guarantees on the inviolability of the private onwership of land. Sejm commissions are also discussing a draft bill on social insurance for individual farmers. It is envisaged to introduce a new system of contracting beginning next year; this system will cover all farm produce, and the contracting will be linked with the delivery of the means of production including fertilizers and coal.

The discussion touched upon the daily problems and difficulties with which the inhabitants of the towns and countryside have to cope. The people's councils find natural allies in civic committees of national salvation. Emphasis is being given to the part played by voivodships people's councils in deciding the priority of needs. This has been referred to by Prof Wladyslaw Baka, minister for matters of economic reform. With regard to the territorial bodies the reform amounts to a substantial increase in their role and their opportunities for action, the minister said.

Labecki at Gdansk Meeting

LD082310 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] [No dateline given] -- A conference of Gdansk Voivodship party activists was devoted to a discussion of key issues connected with economic reform. The conference was attended by J. Labecki member of the Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR Works Committee at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

Czechowicz in Lodz

LD082354 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] A meeting has taken place in Lodz to mark International Women's Day. Representatives of all professional and social milieux took part. Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Lodz party committee also took part. During the meeting state awards and honorary badges were presented to merited female inhabitants of Lodz.

'SHORT LEASH' ON CREDITS CALLED UNACCEPTABLE

AU081958 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Mar 82 pp 1, 3

[Henryk Chadzynski interview with Stanislaw Dlugosz, planning commission deputy chairman: "The Credit Weapon" -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Our debts, which we admit today to be exorbitant and whose causes we study, constitute not only an economic problem; some of our creditors regard them as an instrument of political pressure, and with growing frequency speak about credit weapons. Thus the rules of the game, accepted by our creditors, prove to be broken. This development gives a new aspect to matters connected with settling those complex questions in a way suiting both sides concerned. We spoke about those new aspects of our debts with Stanislaw Dlugosz, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers.

[Question] Mr Minister, many Polish creditors have recently taken a rather surprising posture. They have begun to rebuke us for the things which they commended until recently. What is hidden behind that?

[Answer] Indeed, when we, after 13 December, have begun to put our affairs in order, and particularly when we have begun to restore normal rhythm in the economy, public order and discipline, to provide conditions for increasing labor productivity, and thus when we have begun to do exactly what they -- more or less elegantly -- exhorted us to do, the United States and some NATO countries suddenly changed their minds. One can say that, under the new conditions, the true purposes have begun to reveal themselves. The best to define this posture was Henry Kissinger who, a few weeks ago, publicly advised using credit weapons against Poland to force our country to change its internal policy.

[Question] What is the point of such credit weapons?

[Answer] The first point is the refusal to negotiate the postponement of our debt payments, and thus to set installments and rates of interest in such a way as to enable our economy to recover its development trend, because only in that case can we be expected to repay our debts. The second point is to deprive us of a chance to obtain further credits, particularly operating credits, which would enable us to provide industry with various raw and other materials, as well as with spare parts necessary above all for export production. Instead, both the United States and EEC countries speak about so-called humane assistance. EEC countries have refused to sell Poland food at reduced prices, have allotted certain sums for sending food parcels, which gives handsome profits to the organizers of the parcel campaign, but real assistance to our country's population is even smaller than under the previous arrangements when our goods were purchased at preferential prices.

[Question] The application of credit weapons compels our side not only to take defensive steps, but also to reconsider credit policy as a whole, its scope, lines and conditions.

[Answer] Since official U.S. circles have called for the application of credit weapons, we must draw some conclusions from the past.

In bilateral relations between two cooperating countries, probably unprecedented is the fact that an official document, issued by the Department of State and Treasury, bluntly states that Western countries must use credit policy as an instrument of pressure on Poland and the USSR to induce us to change our internal policy. That confronts us with the task of changing the structure of industrial production. General Wojciech Jaruzelski has repeatedly spoken about that at Sejm and government sessions, as well as at Central Committee plenums, calling for basing our production primarily on our own raw materials. We will draw more raw materials from the socialist and developing countries. The geographic reorientation of our cooperation with foreign countries is a serious task, which we are working on now. Its objective is to expand cooperation with the socialist and developing countries. As far as developed capitalist countries are concerned, what we need is above all to moderate credit policy, and our willingness to open, to exchange and to cooperate will depend on the parity of both short and long-term benefits.

[Question] However, let us go back to the current situation the West created by the application of credit weapons. What are the implications of that move in the economic policy pursued by those countries with regard to us?

[Answer] I would like to draw attention to the circumstances. The first is that the West has shifted our debts to the sphere of politics. In view of that, external questions, viewed hitherto in the financial sphere, have been imposed on the plane of our internal life. After all, credit weapons aimed against Polish society are supposed to hinder us from accomplishing two fundamental tasks: improving market supplies and ensuring material supplies, which are, after all, an essential condition to overcoming the crisis. Last but not least, it is to be stated clearly that, while applying credit weapons, the West has put in a different light its own declarations and accords made in the last decade on the principle that credit operations should under no circumstances have political implications. Thus it is a breach of the professed general principles of cooperation.

[Question] Do the political implications of credit problems increase the degree of risk?

[Answer] Indeed, one can hardly disregard the new realities that have emerged as a result of the fact that the countries which should be interested in our economic recovery and in our most rapid emergence from the crisis, in order to recover their money, actually are doing their best to make our situation even more difficult. Thus the question arises of what will prevail: the economic factor, or political adventurism.

[Question] Should we expect that the partners will be told clearly that if they want to get back their money they should be interested in enabling the debtor, who shows good will, to recover his solvency?

[Answer] I would not like to go into details, but the not too elegant thesis, formulated in the West to the effect that we must be kept on a short leash, must not be accepted under any circumstances.

[Question] How can one define the general principles of our policy with regard to the creditors?

[Answer] Our basic principle is to acquit ourselves of our financial and other commitments with regard to all partners, including the Western ones. We were not the ones who gave financial operations a political coating, and we cannot acept responsibility for the consequences of that.

For this reason, in creating a new concept for the settlement of Polish debts, both we and our partners would be well advised to take into account the fundamental principles binding in those issues and, moreover, respected in international practice. Above all, the operation must be advantageous for both sides, but at the same time the risk must be shared by the partners, in the proportion necessary. There must be no situation in which only the Polish economy and only Polish society must bear adverse consequences.

Thus, the operation must take into account the debtor's possibilities. I think that, in line with the principles which take into account the mutual benefits and risks of the partners, including future risks, both sides should consider the debtor's real conditions and needs. Over the long run, this practice proves to be more fruitful. The creditor must make up his mind if he wants to get his money back, and if he does, he must give the debtor a chance, and must not brandish credit weapons.

RADIO REPORTS PZPR-ZSL PLENUM IN CIECHANOW

LD090002 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] A joint plenum of the Ciechanow Voivodship PZPR Committee and the ZSL Voivodship Committee devoted to the role and tasks of the PZPR and the ZSL in the current situation of the countryside and agriculture is taking place today in Ciechanow.

SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL KOSMOWSKI'S TRIAL RESUMES

LD081906 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Our correspondent reports that the summary procedure case against Patrycjusz Kosmowski, chairman of the Podbeskidzie NSZZ Solidarity Regional Board, resumed at the Bielsko Biala Voivodship court today after having been adjourned on 22 February. On 22 February the Bielsko Biala Voivodship court made a decision, following a defense motion, that the case documents should be sent to the supreme court in Warsaw for it to decide on where the case would be tried.

The criminal chamber of the Warsaw supreme court, after considering the motion of the Bielsko Biala Voivodship court to pass the Patrycjusz Kosmowski case for examination to another equivalent court, decided on 25 February to oppose this motion. The case therefore was reopened today.

The indictment accuses Patrycjusz Kosmowski of continuing union activity despite legal suspension of such activity, and of organizing on 9 December of last year an underground trade union structure whose task was to carry out protext action against martial law.

SZCZECIN VOIVODA RESIGNS; NEW VOIVODA APPOINTED

LD081940 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] The Chairman of the Council of Ministers has accepted the resignation of Eng Tadeusz Waluszkiewicz, M.A., recalling him from the post of Szczecin Voivoda, and has appointed to this post Eng Stanislaw Malec, M.A. after considering the opinion of the Szczecin Voivodship People's Council.

BISHOP BABROWSKI CONFIRMS POPE INVITED TO VISIT

LD082228 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2135 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Bishop Bronislaw Babrowski, secretary of the Conference of the Polish Episcopate, has arrived in Rome, accompanied by Archbishop of Poznan Jerzy Stroba and Bishop of Lodz Jozef Rozwadowski. Speaking to journalists at the airport in Rome, Bishop Dabrowski said:

The Holy Father has been invited to Poland and this is a fact. As for the precise date and program of his visit, one should await his decision, as is usual.

Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2200 GMT on 8 Mar repeats the referent item verbatim and adds the following passage: We are facing two events which are close to each and mutually linked -- in August there is the 600th anniversary of the presence of the Black Madonna in Czestochowa, and subsequently, the anniversary of the victory of the Polish Army at Vienna in 1683. The visit could take place between the two anniversaries. Besides, there is still some time to go until August.

The secretary of the Conference of the Episcopate, answering a question on whether internal motives connected with the situation in Poland could influence these plans, said: On the basis of my information, I can answer in the negative. Someone might repeat to me rumors according to which the Polish authorities could create difficulties. However, this is not true.

PAPERS PUBLISH RESULTS OF PRICE COMMISSION STUDY

LD091046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 9 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] In all the papers today you can find the results of an analysis made by the State Price Commission which concerns the real value of wages 10 years ago and today. In 1972 the average monthly wage amounted to Z2,511. Today it amounts to Z9,234. The present wage, which is significant, contains compensations. Household budgets, it is stated in the analysis, have been very heavily affected by the increase in food prices. An average monthly wage buys 51 loaves of bread less as well as less meat and fish.

The situation looks better when we consider minimum wages -- as in the case of this comparison -- as an increase in purchasing possibilities which can be observed in comparison with the situation 10 years ago. In the case of a majority of foodstuffs the purchasing ability of the average and minimum wage is currently greater than 10 years ago. The papers go on to cite examples of the increase in purchasing power with regard to industrial goods in comparison with 1972. Construction materials and gasoline have become relatively more expensive whereas coal, power and gas have become cheaper.

RZECZPOSPOLITA CITES ANNUAL FOREIGN TRADE REPORT

LD082114 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Mar PAP -- The daily RZECZPOSPOLITA prints today an annual report of the Foreign Trade Research Institute on the state of Poland's trade relations with abroad last year.

Excerpts:

"The value of Polish foreign trade in 1981 dropped by over 13 per cent and its volume by as much as 20 percent. The export, in current prices, fell by 14.6 percent and, in constant prices by 20 percent which is slightly more than the import which diminished by 12 and 19.9 percent respectively.

"A tangible regression was recorded in the scope of trade both with the socialist and capitalist countries, the drop in trade being bigger in relations with capitalist partners -- 25 percent in current prices and 29 percent in constant prices -- than in relations with the socialist ones -- 3.5 and 12.7 percent respectively.

"All in all the foreign trade results in 1981 turned out to be exceptionally poor. Our share in world trade, traditionally lagging behind the Polish economic potential, slumped down to the level of about 0.7 percent which is the lowest in the entire history of independent Poland.

"Serious changes took place in 1981 in both the geographical and goods structure of Poland foreign trade. In the first place, the share of socialist countries in Poland's turnover with abroad increased considerably (by 6.1 points).

"The role of the USSR as Poland's trade partner increased considerably. This was particularly well visible in the sphere of import: The USSR (word indistinct) over 40 percent of goods imported by Poland (by 8.3 points more than in 1980. Simultaneously, that country purchased 32.5 percent of Poland's entire exports, which marked a growth of 1.3 points in comparison to the preceding year.

"In trade with the developing countries Poland recorded a surplus owing to the growth of export (of 2.8 percent) and a considerable slump in the import (of 39.3 percent) evoked by an almost complete abandonment of oil purchases.

"A tendency becomes ever more obvious at present to reorientate Poland's trade ties with abroad in view of the payments situation and restrictions applied by a number of Western countries.

"A matter of crucial significance is to apply such criteria of cost accounting and requirements of long-term economic strategy which would not diminish our chance of drawing advantages from the international division of labor on a global scale."

BRIEFS

APPOINTMENT OF UNDERSECRETARIES -- R. Pospieszynski, director of a department at the Office of Maritime Economy and A. Krzysztoporski, recently a deputy minister at the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been appointed undersecretaries of state at the Office of Maritime Economy. [Text] [Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 2 Mar 82 LD]

FEBRUARY LIVESTOCK PURCHASES -- Plans for livestock purchases for February have been exceeded considerably. More than 8,000 tons of livestock for slaughter were bought every day in February. Thus farmers have delivered 164,000 tons of meat. [Text] [Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 2 Mar 82 LD]

TRANSLOADING OF GOODS -- Over 3,100,000 tons of goods were transloaded in the Gdansk-Gdynia port complex during the first two months of 1982. This is, however, almost 700,000 tons less than at the same time last year. The main reason for the fall is a smaller number of ships with grain, the deliveries of which dropped in January and February by 630 tons. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 2 Mar 82 LD]

BULGARIAN ASSEMBLY'S TODOROV TO VISIT 10 MAR

LD081952 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1835 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG) -- At the invitation of the SFRY Assembly, a delegation of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Assembly and a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo, will be paying an official visit to Yugoslavia starting on 10 March. The visit will last several days. In addition to having meetings and working talks in the Yugoslav Assembly and other federal organs, the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation is expected to visit the Socialist Republics of Serbia and Croatia.

BLOC CLASH JEOPARDIZES CSCE MADRID MEETING

LD081008 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0900 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Madrid, 8 Mar (TANJUG) -- This morning representatives of 35 nations participating in the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe continue their marathon session adjourned last Friday after many hours of futile effort. The meeting today will centre on reaching agreement on the session agenda for this week. The East and the West are in a bitter dispute over the agenda but it is hard to believe that the whole conference is brought at stake, although the ambitions of big powers and blocs have jeopardized the true value of this conference as the specific tool for the consolidation of security and cooperation in Europe. The Madrid meeting now turned into Helsinki's opposite: instead of finding accords on cooperation, bloc confrontations are present.

Yugoslav representatives assess that a constructive dialogue in Madrid was now made impossible. Bloc collision pushed the meeting into an impasse and prevented the 35 delegations from taking an equal part in the proceedings. Bloc pressure is so strong that it leaves only insufficient space for true dialogues. The dilemma remains: to adjourn the session or to admit that the Madrid Conference has failed due to a poisonous atmosphere caused by the rivalry between the NATO and Warsaw states. This is because the statements on the indispensability of CSCE repeated daily by the blocs only contradict their behaviour in Madrid.

ZAGREB RADIO EXAMINES CPSU-PCI CONTROVERSY

LD081920 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Despite their vehemence, the present polemics between the Italian Communist Party [PCI] and the CPSU basically speaking, have raised some questions which, in the totality of the struggle of the present-day international workers' movement, are important for Yugoslav communists as well and which require us to consider them in greater depth. Here is a commentary by Zrnka Novak:

The Italian communists have set in motion a polemic, prompted as they were by their indignation over the introduction of martial law in Poland. To put it more simply, they expressed their disagreement with the fact that democratic rights and the incipient process of renewal were cancelled in a socialist country in the name of "higher" common aims and of the uniformity of the social system prevailing in the countries of the Eastern bloc. Theoretically, in so doing, the Italian communists have launched deliberations on the independence and equality of the various ways to socialism, which are not new in the international communist movement and which were forcefully brought up during the years of crisis and split but which at the Berlin conference of communist and workers' parties were fully answered.

However, the Polish crisis was used as an exceptionally important occasion to reaffirm the principles of the Berlin conference and also for the Eurocommunist parties to express their disagreement with the CPSU's renewed attempts, in the conditions of the aggravated situation along the East-West line and of shaken detente, to push through the back door into the international workers' movement the historically rejected principles of the kind of international solidarity which at the time of the Third International and Cominform served the national interests of the first country of socialism.

This means that pluralism in the international workers' movement, understood as a host of various and equal paths to socialism, is an achievement which the communist and workers parties refuse to give up today.

In the wake of the historic splits, the principles of the Berlin conference became a constant for the only possible conduct between the parties, conduct in which there are no big or small parties nor important or less significant parties, and when all cooperate on an equal footing and are historically responsible to their own working class. Viewed in this context the essential stand of the Italian communists in the aforementioned polemics is generally significant for the further development of the struggle in the international workers' movement. Moreover, the Italian path to socialism, the so-called third way which for the time being presupposes a path without violence, respect for democratic traditions and parliamentary pluralism, has not produced any major novelties in relation to the earlier-published stands of the Eurocommunist parties. However, spurred on by the events in Poland, the Italian communists feel a special need precisely at this point in time to state that the social model of real socialism is at odds with their aspirations.

This then is a part of the strategy of the Italian party which however cannot be made universal with regard to other countries and parties. If this mistake is avoided then we simply differ regarding the interests of one's own path and own working class. This then belongs to the same historic heritage laid down by the documents of the Berlin conference. But in conclusion let me recall one of Edvard Kardelj's thoughts in his treatise "The Directions of the Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management." It is very important, Kardelj wrote, that communists learn to discuss democratically among themselves even controversial subject matter, as was the case in Lenin's time; that is without excommunications and without a power struggle in the international communist movement because it is clear that any attempt to establish rigid dogmas with regard to the paths of this development will only mean a repetition of the omissions which dogmatism experienced during the present history of socialism.

KRAIGHER, VIDIC ARRIVE IN KOSOVO FOR TALKS

LD081842 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1742 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Pristina, 8 March (TANJUG) -- Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived this evening on a visit to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. Kraigher is accompanied by Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; and Lidija Sentjurc, member of the Council of the Federation.

The guests were welcomed and greeted at Pristina Airport by Ali Sukrija, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo; Ilija Vakic, president of the Kosovo Assembly; and by other provincial officials. This evening President Kraigher had talks at the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo on questions of current socio-economic relations and on the political security situation in the province. During his 2-day visit to Kosovo, Sergej Kraigher will visit some work collectives and talk with the businessmen of the province.

MONTENEGRO LC PRESIDIUM ON SUPPLY PROBLEMS

LD081624 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Titograd, 8 Mar (TANJUG) -- Discussing some topical problems of supplies to the economy and the population, the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee Presidium noted that the start of this year there was a further deterioration in supplying the economy with reproduction materials, raw materials and energy.

There are also continued difficulties in supplying the population with some consumer goods despite measures taken last year which produced certain positive results. Difficulties in supply are particularly pronounced in larger organizations of associated labor in the republic, and this could have major negative consequences. Judging that the problems of supply are mainly an expression of deteriorated circumstances in this sphere in the country, as well as of some specific features in the republican economy, the Presidium noted that the organs which are directly responsible for the state of supply must act more quickly and effectively than up to now, and in accordance with the stabilization measures. The resolution of individual supply problems must be made more certain in the shortest possible time. It is essential to mobilize all self-management and other subjects, working people and citizens in all environments, as well as broad political activity in organizations of the League of Communists, SAWP and trade unions, and this involves informing working people and citizens fully about the situation and problems in the sphere of supply.

Some issues relating to preparations for the Eighth League of Communists Congress of this republic were also discussed at the Central Committee Presidium session.

MORE ON BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA LC PLENUM 26 FEB

Dizdarevic Speech

LD052358 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0908 GMT 5 Mar 82

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Mar (TANJUG) -- Raif Dizdarevic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, addressed the 26 February session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee.

At the beginning he said that, viewing as a whole the negative phenomena and tendencies under discussion, we are "confronted with a tide of attacks on Tito's path of revolution and, in fact, adherence to this path is under fire. It seems to me that what is happening now is precisely what all hostile and anti-self-management forces have been preparing ever since Tito's death....For forces from both inside and outside the country are now on the scene and active, forces which since the death of Comrade Tito have been preparing to attack the basic values of our revolution and system, the unity of the League of Communists and the country and to adopt positions for themselves."

R. Dizdarevic spoke in particular about instances of attempts to carry out social destruction, sow various doubts and nationalistic poison by abusing public speech, attempts to disorient people and so forth. "And all those who are preparing for more serious attacks on the bases on the self-management democratic system, federal order and international orientation of the country have always acted in this way and so prepared the ground for themselves. It seems to me that an even greater danger is that we do not react in a uniform and united way to these phenomena." R. Dizdarevic believes that we may pay dearly for our inconsistent attitude toward identical phenomena in different spheres. "In this context, we are also confronted with a whole series of systematic and crude attempts to create a negative atmosphere in Bosnia-Hercegovina by trying to present it in various articles as a bureaucratic and primitive environment.

Speaking about the need for a joint reaction to all destructive phenomena throughout the country, R. Dizdarevic said, among other things, that recently the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium and Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium had reacted with serious criticism and correct assessments of negative phenomena in the information media in Serbia. "The assessments made by these two Presidiums are encouraging and deserve full support."

When the view was presented in discussion that demands were being made to censure writing about others, R. Dizdarevic commented in the following way: I do not know who wants colonel-censors and whether anybody is demanding or can demand censorship in general.

"This is a long way from us, and we are a long way from those times and from those who think in this way. I do not believe that [words indistinct] other justified complaints and criticism that some organs which are published in Belgrade manifest in a series of articles, as was said at that session of the two Serbian Presidiums, unacceptable ideological and political orientations, are interpreted or understood in this way. As for us, we rightly criticized and reacted to crude attacks systematically appearing in Belgrade and expressed dissatisfaction that there was no real reply in this environment for a long time. We think that a unity of view and action should exist in the LCY on the defense of the basic values of the revolution, self-management democratic development, the gains of our relations, and the atmosphere of harmony and understanding based on brotherhood, unity and community, and that we must defend together that which is the joint achievement of all communists, the working class and all the nations and nationalities.

"Naturally, there must also be constructive and principled criticism of everything that hinders this, regardless of where it appears and of territorial boundaries. Otherwise, he who does not react to these negative phenomena in his own sphere and [word indistinct] against those from outside, he who does not enter into specific battle with every manifestation of liberalist and other attacks, must resort to censorship and the regression of self-management democratic development or become the prisoner of what some kind of liberalist corporals themselves are demanding."

Referring to a recently published discussion in which, according to what has been presented in the press, some negative articles about Bosnia-Hervegovinia in individual newspapers in Belgrade are indirectly justified, and the well-known instance of the infamous master's thesis is mentioned (the value of which is in the process of being established), which was written about in detail by some newspapers in Belgrade, R. Dizdarevic said that he was surprised that it was not said in the discussion that this had been abused and several articles in precisely those newspapers which were trying to justify the articles about Bosnia-Hercegovina had contained public attacks of common falsification and false assertions against a member of the top leadership of the LCY. "I wondered then and I wonder now, just as others are wondering, why no one reacted to this publicly and quite specifically where this was done. Does one think of where we are going and what we have achieved when we allow the most prominent cadres from one sphere to be slandered and blackened in another and to deep quiet about it...What will happen in the country if the same thing happens in all spheres? Naturally, always and in everything, I try to choose a constructive and critical consideration of views and actions and meeting of ideas between all of us, regardless of who is in what post and where he is from.

"I see that in the same discussion in which, as I interpreted it, there is justification of negative coverage of Bosnia-Hercegovina, there is a very sensitive reaction to, as is said, 'sending the ball back': that is, to what SVIJET of Sarajevo wrote about the well-known Kragujevac incident. I myself think and said that this is not good and that we will get nowhere if we react in kind. But those who criticize this must know that tolerance and justification of these attitudes in one environment (and they do not oppose them in their own environment, and even justify them) inevitably causes similar attitudes in other environments and they feed on each other. When the whirlwind of such unprincipled rivalry takes off, where will the League of Communists be and what will be the solution to this situation? For, I said, destructive phenomena and an uneven attitude toward public destruction have already wormed their way into our mutual relations in Yugoslavia.

"Naturally, the solution can only lie in a uniform, resolute and united battle against these phenomena by everyone in his own sphere and by everyone together in the entire country.

"Attacks and groundless assertions about the party leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina since the time of the preparation of the uprising, as well as about the leadership of the uprising in this republic, have been repeated for a long time.

"Now this is escalating again, either by chance or otherwise. Well-known assertions are being repeated that the leadership hesitated and delayed on the uprising, that many comrades from the leadership delayed going out into the field and then delayed with the organization of armed detachments and carrying out armed action. Assertions also appear that in the first months of the armed struggle in Bosnia-Hercegovina there was constant friction with the majority of leading party cadres on the question of the armed struggle, that their behavior, particularly in eastern Bosnia, was called opportunism and 'Bosnian sloppiness,' and so on and so forth. They also include assertions that after the war measures were taken to cover up such assessments, and persistent repetition of badly argued suspicions that some war documents were destroyed on purpose in order to conceal mistakes by individual comrades and so forth. All this has been repeated several times and is well-known to us.

"I shall not," Dizdarevic said, "enter into the motives or into a political and moral or ethical analysis of the spreading and publication of these assertions. Nor shall I enter into the moral and ethical side of the public statement of groundless suspicions and unproven accusations that someone destroyed or hid documents in order to conceal his own or someone else's mistakes. I shall not speak about this, for groundless suspicion and blackening of people in our party were opposed and criticized a long time ago, both before and after the fourth plenum. I do not even want to speak about what it means when someone speaks so dishonestly about his comrades in ideas and arms, and his fellow fighters. Nor do I want to speak about why this is done, who needs it and whom it serves. The public has been able to form its own opinion about this. I would be pleased if those who did this found the strength to think about it, as well as those who do this publicly and so persistently.

"However, I think that two things should be said at this Central Committee session and that is why I am speaking about it.

"First, it is a question of a tendentious attack on the party leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the leadership of the uprising in Bosnia-Hercegovina, a leadership which successfully organized and carried out the uprising, national liberation struggle and armed revolution and a leadership which has passed the test of its devotion, wisdom, responsibility and capability before the people and before history.

"Second, we also interpret the continuity of the revolution as the defense of all its values and of all those who brought their capabilities and energy into its organization and path, those who devoted themselves consistently and completely to it. In this sense there also exists complete continuity in involvement and responsibility between all leaders up to now of both our party and the development of our revolution in Bosnia-Hercegovina in all its stages up to now. This Central Committee of ours stands in defense of the party leadership of Bosnia-Hercegonina which organized the uprising and led the revolution. It defends the leadership of the national liberation struggle and the armed revolution, for their defense is not only a question of old comrades from those leaderships but is also our cause. We defend their actions, which history has judged. Their action is defended by the achievements we enjoy thanks to that leadership. We also defend old comrades from the leadership of the uprising and the national liberation struggle in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as those who laid down their lives in the struggle and those who were fervent in the development of the revolution. We defend all communists, the Federation of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia, fighters and patriots. We defend them because they are all being slandered, their work is being denigrated. We defend them from intrigues and ill-intentioned rummaging through the past aimed at proving preconceived theories and damaging their great work.

"Naturally, we shall continue to offer full support so that history can demonstrate the whole course and all the details of this glorious history of ours, for it is historical truth and is, above all, the best defense against such ill-intentioned and tendentious attacks."

Speaking about some phenomena in social life in Bosnia-Hercegovina, R. Dizdarevic said, among other things:

"The lack of development and insufficient involvement of Marxist criticism causes us great harm in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We have spoken about this several times at the Central Committee Presidium. The truth is that a number of Marxist intellectuals have become passive and silent. From other environments Marxist criticisms are made about some phenomena and books in our country, which is good when they are well-founded, but not when Marxist criticism in Bosnia-Hercegovina does not always speak about these same phenomena and writings or speak in good time. I would say that the fact that isolated individuals appear in those polemics is even starting to hinder matters, for they are then interpreted as official theorists and representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Leage of Communists, as if the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists stands behind what they say and do. This is not accurate and inflicts harm on those comrades of ours, as well as on all of us, and on what we should all be involved in together.

"I snould like to repeat what has already been said: that in rejecting everything used by enemies and all ill-intentioned people, and in criticizing and identifying this and judging it precisely, we must not allow confusion with justified criticism and people's dissatisfaction with phenomena, procedures and attitudes which are not acceptable and which cause dissatisfaction, into which the enemy then insinuates himself skillfully and is then exaggerated with relish. Because of these attacks, we must in no way relax our efforts and the consistent struggle for the force for which we have opted and against all the negative features which arise in our environment. We must not, in defense against attacks aimed at our cause and our policy, identify with everything that happens or exists in our country and deserves criticism. Criticism must arise, above all, from us, but justified criticism coming even from other spheres should not worry us.

"Precisely because of our current situation, we must be very careful to avoid the attitude that everything being done in relation to us is negative, that there is nothing bad in us, that we are more or less right in what we do. If we were to relax and open up room for such ideas and the creation of such an atmosphere, we would risk a situation in which there might soon be a broader manifestation of all sorts of conservative ideas, which is something that Bosnia-Hercegovina has never wanted or permitted, least of all the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists," Raif Dizdarevic concluded.

Pozderac Speech

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[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Mar (TANJUG) -- Taking part in the debate at the 26 February session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee session on some ideopolitical issues of the present social juncture, Hamdija Pozderac, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, sounded a warning about some tones in a section of the information media which have a general character but which refer to Bosnia-Hercegovina. He said:

The attitude most powerfully stressed is that so-called republican etatisms, with the isolationism of the market, national-economic logic, and so forth represent the greatest danger for our further development. In this connection what is at the center of interest of a section of the Belgrade press is republican etatism and the isolationism of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Republican etatism is undoubtedly a danger which looms over our socialist self-managing development, as is also every municipal, federal and every other etatism. However, before one points the finger at Bosnia-Hercegovina, it is necessary to compare the facts about how open Bosnia-Hercegovina is and how much others are closed within themselves; this would show that Bosnia-Hercegovina belongs among the more open republics on the Yugoslav market. I am not saying this in order to reduce the struggle against republican and every other etatism and to wage a polemic for polemic's sake, but in order to stimulate this polemic throughout Yugoslavia.

On this occasion I would also like to stress the need to examine how much we close ourselves within individual regions; what I have in mind here is municipal etatism with regard to the Bosnia-Hercegovinia market. I have the feeling that localist tendencies are strongly manifest in our country.

The second attitude which has become powerfully manifest is the attitude about there being a symbiosis between the top republican political leadership and some intellectual circles and that pseudointellectuals are being stimulated on this basis, while true intellectuals and democrats are thwarted, that concessions are made to nationalism, and so forth; this is an obvious hint at there being a different attitude toward Serbian intellectuals in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Thus, an attempt is made to induce the political leadership or parts of this leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina to back a group of intellectuals which stems chiefly from the Muslim structure and which is wholly on antisocialist positions, or at least in which there are individuals who advocate untenable ideological attitudes. It is evident that an attempt is made with this to call into question the principled policy in Bosnia-Hercegovina with regard to every kind of nationalism, be it Muslim, Serbian or Croatian and regardless of where it might emerge.

We must be very clear and definite about this. For we cannot back "ad limina" and en bloc a single intellectual from any national structure who has been branded or who will be branded -- as has been the case so far -- if, of course, there are not enough arguments in favor of such an attitude. In this connection we must stand on policy, and, as up to now, we will put on trial every kind of chauvinism and nationalism from the Muslim, Serbian to Croatian environment as well as any other nationalism. In defense of this principled position all the branded intellectuals, and not only those from the Muslim, Serbian or Croatian environment, cannot be defended, in particular when some of them, so to speak, talk nonsense, pronounce judgments which are incompatible with communist ideology. Certain nonsense and antiself-managing attitudes by individuals even when attacked from nationalistic and chauvinistic positions cannot be defended. I think that in such a situation a group of Belgrade coffeehouse intellectuals who are trying to show that there is a different attitude in Bosnia-Hercegovina toward Serbian intellectuals -- which in fact clearly demonstrates their nationalistic and chauvinistic position -- tries to drag us into endorsing en bloc such [word indistinct] phenomena which cannot be endorsed.

I think that this is a synchronized action which tries to show to the public that the republican leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina backs intellectuals at whom the finger is pointed in the struggle against those "true" intellectuals, "true" Marxists. In this way, they are trying to blunt the edge of the ideological and political action which we must wage even more intenseively against all negative phenomena in society, including against those individuals who act from antisocialist and antiself-managing positions, even if they might say that they are true intellectuals and true Marxists. Moreover, they advertise some works, the aim of which is to present the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina as the primordial rule of darkness, dogmatism, and strong arm -- all this is contained in Lubarda's "Anathema" -- as a fine work of culture and creativeness.

Furthermore, the attitude too has become manifest that insufficient attention is paid in Bosnia-Hercegovina to so-called joint and uniform aspects in culture, for instance, with regard to the uniform minimum program of literature. The attempt is made to constitute this stand from the positions of ethnocentrism, in history as well as in some other spheres, where Bosnia-Hercegovina logically separates, where Serbs and Croats are excluded and where Bosnia-Hercegovina thus reamins only Muslim. And then, it is precisely such a Bosnia-Hercegovina which is being reproached for aiming at wrecking Bosnia-Hercegovina.

I think that we too should, with regard to this sphere, advocate more firmly the realization of the attitudes which we have formulated. However, articles are again appearing both in our press and in some literary periodicals about, with reference to literature in Bosnia-Hercegovina, there being a Bosnia-Hercegovinian literature.

We must be careful in this respect because we do not have a Bosnia-Hercegovinian literature. We have a literature of the nations and nationlities in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Serbs, Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina have their literature, and Jews too have their literature, and Romanies who live in Bosnia-Hercegovina also have their literature and so on and so forth. This is literature of the nations and nationalities of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and in this context the territorial principle is only a framework which has made this literature possible and which imbued it with the spirit of togetherness and of penetrating one another. Were this not the case, we would be going back to unitarism, to Bosnian identity, to ethnocentristic logic in the national policy which we grasped only too well and against which we fought. The cultures of the nations and nationalities should be viewed from the standpoint of the life together of the nations and nationalities in Bosnia-Hercegovina and from the standpoint of certain specific features and of mutual permeation of the cultures of the nations and nationalities.

All this points to the fact that there is a serious change in the attitudes, criteria, behavior and policy of a section of the press in which attitudes are emphasized which have either an explicit or implicit integralistic and antirepublican attitude and intonation. A clear pressure is exerted on the policy of Bosnia-Hercegovina, either by directly criticizing politicians or by a totally negative assessment of the entire situation and of the trends in Bosnia-Hercegovina or by attempts at negating the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina with reference to advocating ethnocentric ideas about the national policy in our multinational community.

I have the feeling that recently also questions which are not crucial have been set in motion. An attempt is made to dress them up, both theoretically and politically, as generally valid issues but with which a theoretical and political debate should be initiated.

In this connection, I would like to point out two attitudes which have manifested themselves in the recent period. One is the reduction of the question of sovereignty of the working class and in general of sovereignty in socialism to within the strict limits of national sovereignty, of national states with the typical and hierarchical concept of the sovereign and less sovereign nation and its history and historical territory. This question is also theoretically complex and insufficiently formulated. In practice it represents the fundamental question of the further development of our socialist democracy, both in relations between the working class and production and in relations between the working class and the state, in other words sovereignty. This means that it covers all the problems of relations in our federation at the present stage of its development.

People speak about how to further develop the relationship between the state and the working class, the relationship between the state and sovereignty, the exponent of which is that class, and the relationship between the state and the nation. They forget that the nation is a historical form which provided the framework for the sovereignty of the bourgeoisie, while in socialism the working class rules the nation. Consequently, in socialism the nation is the form within which the class and national interests merge, but only if there is hegemony of the class interest, of the proletariat.

Because of this, the question of sovereignty -- if viewed in connection with the further development of associated labor and the resolving of the contradictions encountered in social relations on the road of the development of associated labor and its rule in society -- cannot be viewed in any other way than as the process of the withering away of all the functions of the state that coerce the working class and exercise control over its right to dispose of income and determines the work conditions.

It is also a process of the withering away of the working class' function in the sphere of relations created on the basis of the traditional rights of ownership over land and capital outside associated labor. This also means in the sphere of the so-called ownership by the nation or collective ownership of land by the nation in the sense of having the national territory under the control of associated labor and not under control of the state.

This is to say, and this has been pointed out by Comrades Tito and Kardelj several times, that associated labor represents a specific historical form of solving not only our country's class question but also the national question through the hegemony of the working class in the sphere of national interests. For these reasons associated labor is the most exemplary form of realizing the national interests.

Whenever the League of Communists deviated, even in the slightest degree from the principle [words indistinct] and gave priority to the national over the class aspect and whenever a greater degree of sovereignty over territory and the means of production was concentrated in the hands of any particular nation, then the foundations of our class policy and thus also of socialist democracy were jeopardized. This is pointed out by the experience of nationalism and liberalism in the period from 1969-72 and by correct experience in connection with Kosovo.

In direct connection with this is the renewed revival of the attitude that assumes that states can only be set up as national states, that those who have no national basis on which to set up their state cannot set one up because it cannot constitute itself as a state and is an artificial creation. Attempts are being made to base a thesis that Bosnia-Hercegovina is as an artificial creation on the denial of the national identity of the Muslims; or even better, since Bosnia-Hercegovina is not a one nation-state, because it is populated by members of the nations who have their own states (Muslims declare themselves as members of one people or the other) it cannot be a state. The Muslim nationalists, in opposition to this thesis, are the autochthonous Bosnians and that Bosnia-Hercegovina is the national state of muslims. Neither in one case nor the other does Bosnia-Hercegovina exist either as a state or as a democratic self-managing community. Bosnia-Hercegovina, and this should be stated today, is the national state of the Serbs, Croats and Muslims who live in it, as well as of any other nation and nationalities in it.

The second attitude which has acquired prominence is that nationalism is a typical defensive ideological and political phenomenon, that it emerges as a consequence of the behavior of others and that it is not the class political expression of the interests of the bourgeoisie and the defeated forces, an expression of the antiself-management and antisocialist forces, and it does not depend directly on their interests and their influence on affairs. This, then, completely excludes the class dimension of chauvinsism and nationalism. There are individuals today, even in our political life, who consider that Serbian nationalism has emerged as resistance to Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Or they think that today the only source of Serbian nationalism is to be found outside the Socialist Republic of Serbia on constitutional positions and in the Serbian people's position of inequality in our country. I am saying this also for our own benefit, because in our republic there are many people who consider that nationalism and chauvinsim come to Bosnia-Hercegovina from outside. There is no need to stress that views of this kind are untenable.

Bearing in mind all that I have said I would like to suggest that we should adopt an even more positive attitude toward criticism which is addressed to Bosnia-Hercegovina and which makes society move forward. We must be open to ideology and political developments at the Yugoslav level and must not stay behind locked doors. We must strive to see that Yugoslav problems are discussed in all our press, but that this is done in a way that brings us all closer to one another and unites us, gives cohesion to the Yugoslav community and mobilizes it. Therefore I think that it would be good if we adopted an even more positive attitude toward anything that aroused critical awareness of anything that is negative in our republic.

We must be even more open to this kind of criticism. However, it should be noted that there are individuals and also that there are whole parts of individual structures who have become impervious even to this type of criticism. We must not allow the rejection of criticism from antiself-management and antisocialist positions should also lead to the rejection of that true Marxist criticism the aim of which is to change things and rectify shortcomings in society and achieve progress for the whole of society. This also presupposes the need to be sharp and resolute in defeating all the attempts to undermine unity in the leadership, to undermine unity in Bosnia-Hercegovina, to break up Bosnia-Hercegovina. We must be energetic in this respect.

And, finally, we must involve ourselves even more intensively in the ideopolitical debates on some of the unresolved questions of the building of our socialist self-managing society. Social sciences too should devote more attention to these questions, Hamdija Pozderac, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA LC PLENUM RESUMES 5 MAR

LD052342 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 5 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 5 Mar (TANJUG) -- The Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee today resumed its consideration of topical ideopolitical questions at the present social juncture, which started at its session of 26 February this year.

After attention was drawn in the discussion this morning to the complexity of the international economic and political situation, it was stressed that major results had been achieved in the material development of Bosnia-Hercegovina over the past 4 years. This, speakers in the discussion pointed out, shows that it is really possible to overcome the serious problems and difficulties which characterize the country's socioeconomic development. It also proves the correctness of our strategic orientation, of which the fundamental question is that of the further development of socialist self-management.

Speakers also pointed out the halt in the development of the system, the fact that some, often major, questions were often left unsolved for a long time and that it was difficult to carry out a number of agreements, including some on important questions of development. The activity of elements of the old system was objectively strengthening etatist trends and the role of the state and of state organs in the regulating of the processes of social reproduction, according to what was said during the morning discussion at the session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee. All this testified to the need for a fuller and more united involvement of the LCY and the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina in these questions.

In connection with this situation, attention was drawn to tendencies which were manifesting themselves increasingly frequently and openly and which, by virtue of their substance and the manner in which they were manifesting themselves, sought to raise all questions in society with the aim of reexamining them. They were doing this not in order to make a constructive contribution to, but to undermine, self-managing development. The very fact that their exponents did not offer a way out of the difficulties and problems which characterized socioeconomic development clearly showed what the real background and motives were.

In recent times, it was stressed during the discussion at today's continuation of the work of the session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee, there has been a more powerful manifestation of tendencies which deny the value of the basic achievement of the socialist revolution. Many of the most prominent cadres of the revolution are under attack; there are attempts to call into question the prestige and work of Comrades Tito and Kardelj; some of the questions of the federal system are being raised, including, in this context, those of the place and role of the republics and provinces; and their attempts to deny the ability of the self-managing system to overcome the contradictions of its own development and attempts to seek the way out in some other model of social relations.

It was stressed that all this had manifested itself during a complex stage of development through which we had passed on the path of socialist construction. In the analysis of the negative tendencies from the point of view of their exponent, most anxiety was being caused by the realization that some of these negative tendencies stemmed from individual members of the League of Communists, including some responsible cadres. This could lead to bewilderment and dilemmas in the working class, because public speaking places and other facilities for public speaking were not infrequently used to spread these tendencies. If manifestations of this kind were left unanswered of answers were given with a serious delay, this would inevitably reflect in a negative way on the political mood of working people and citizens.

The discussion showed, among other things, that some of these tendencies were manifesting themselves in information media, where by means of the written word or in other ways the situation and relations in an environment were depicted solely through the tendentious reporting of shortcomings and problems; that individual questions were given a sensationalist treatment; that the fundamental values of our revolution were attacked insolently; that untruths about events and people, most frequently the most prominent cadres, were also being presented to the public; that slander and lies were being circulated with the obvious desire to create a particular mood in one's own environment about the situation and relations in another environment. Questions of national relations were also a target and in this connection theses were circulated about the difference in the threat from one nationalism as compared with another, suggesting that in one environement more was being done than in another in the struggle against the manifestations of nationalism.

It was also stressed that a kind of escalation of negative tendencies in the conditions created by the complex international and internal economic and political situation was to a considerable extent also the result of the inadequate ideopolitical activity of a large number of basic organizations and also of many organs of the League of Communists. In other words, it was the result of inconsistency in the realization of adopted policy, as well as of the fact that the League of Communists lacked uniform appraisals of a number of tendencies and phenomena. Furthermore, in a number of organizations of the League of Communists, communists were not sufficiently resolute and militant in opposing negative tendencies.

According to the speakers, the causes of these shortcomings were to be found in the absence or insufficient development of constructive criticism and self-criticism and democratic dialogue and in deviation from the admissions criteria to the League of Communists and in the resolute political differentiation in it. All this demanded from every member, organization and organ of the League of Communists a still more responsible attitude to all the obligations and tasks undertaken in the League of Communists.

It was stressed that the consistent realization and development of socialist self-management were the only way to overcome the shortcomings which had manifested themselves. In this context the resolute struggle for economic stabilization was the vital prerequisite for the elimination of a number of sources of disruption in the political mood of working people and citizens. The tasks of the League of Communists in this field were defined in the attitudes of the first session of the LCY Central Committee and the guidelines issued by the 15th session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee, which today again pointed out the extent to which they would be topical in the next period as well.

Mention was also made during today's discussion of the phenomenon whereby religious communities were more and more often dealing with social themes in their newspapers, thus exceeding the limits which the law had set for their activity.

The speakers at the morning session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee were Omer Visic, Hajrudin Djulbic, Branc Miljus, Hajrudin Muminovic, Alika Delic, Ljubo Babic, Enes Gotovusa, Arif Tanovic and Ferdija Kojcic.

Several speakers then spoke ofthe causes, reasons and phenomena which have led to the manifestation of various antisocialist and other forces which are opposed to our system. These forces, it was said, have become particularly manifest in the last year in their most extreme form in Kosovo. Though propagating different ideologies, all of them contrary to the League of Communists, these forces, as assessed in the discussion, are united and have a uniform goal. Their slogan is a criticism of everything which exists but not the kind of criticism which aspires to go forward but as a negation of everything which our revolution and system have achieved.

It was then stressed that it was the complex conditions which have made the emergence of these forces possible. These are first and foremost some problems in our economic development and the insufficient action by the League of Communists in the direct unmasking of their (?aims). As opposed to these forces, inside society various ideological trends are also at work which do not operate against our system but which at the same time do not have an innocent dimension. These trends, it was observed, chiefly appear inside the League of Communists and in this way they have an undermining influence, be it consciously or unconsciously. All these forces do not emerge accidentally. They come to the fore at times when, seen as a whole, our society marches with big steps, when the great goals of the revolution are being achieved and realized. An example of this is the increasing control of workers over the entire reproduction. Conscious of the fact that we are on Tito's path and on the path of realizing fundamental and revolutionary ideals, these forces are trying to throw a monkey wrench in the works of our socialist development.

Precisely because of this we must, in the sphere of workers' control over the entire income, do even more in the next period because this is a "vital" issue of the continuity of the revolution. It is in this sphere that a battle is being waged in the whole of Yugoslavia. Many are dissatisfied with this, even those who are members of the League of Communists on paper but who are not on the League of Communists' course. This, as stated, creates proper space for a bad climate, for the activity of various "isms", for the introduction, or for the attempt to introduce, various ideological platforms. It is obvious, it was stressed in the discussion, that such attacks also represent attacks on our class approach to the solving of key issues of socialist construction.

What is important for our further course of development, it was further stressed in the discussion, is the orientation toward a correct evaluation of productive work, toward a higher level of employment, speedier resolving of housing and supply problems. These are crucial elements which exert an influence on the mood of the working people and citizens. And not only this: For example, the evaluation of productive and creative work is the major issue of the development not only of this republic, but also of Yugoslavia. This is all the more so since the burden of the economic stabilization, which is obvious, is shifted onto the back of the working class. Should this work not be properly evaluated, we shall find ourselves in a position in which there will be a lethargic attitude toward work and hence a stagnation in our entire reproduction. Only through better evaluation of productive work will conditions also be created for the employment of a large majority of persons who are seeking work. This evaluation will undoubtedly also reflect on production, and more complex plans and ventures on other markets.

In this part of the discussion, much was also said about public information media. The assessment is that today, with growing frequency, various rumors, untruths accompanied by explicit arrogance and conceit, are appearing in them. This refers to a section of our media, which, as assessed, have ceded part of their space to forces which are opposed to our policy. Before, the opposition had demanded this space; now it does not do so because this space is provided for it, consciously or unconsciously. But despite this, a healthy spirit dominates our press today and its pages carry a growing number of analytical texts which contribute, with their creative criticixm, to the further development of our system.

At the end of the session, the Central Committee empowered its Presidium, having obtained verbal comments from Central Committee members, to review the summary of the assessments and attitudes of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina on the current topical ideopolitical issues on which this high-ranking party forum held an analytical and documented 2-day debate -- on 26 February and 5 March. This summary, following its verfication, will be made known to the public.

SERBIAN LC PRESIDIUM VIEWS CONGRESS DOCUMENT

LD081630 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG) -- The Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, at its session today which was presided over by Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic, discussed the draft resolution for the Ninth Serbian League of Communists Congress, which was prepared by the relevant Central Committee commission.

The Presidium relieved Savo Krazavac of his duties as chief editor of the Serbian edition of KOMUNIST since he has been appointed head of the SFRY Presidency's press office, and appointed Dr Zivorad Djordjavic acting chief editor of the Serbian edition of KOMUNIST.

PRISTINA PARTY COMMITTEE EXPELS MEMBERS

AU081803 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 82 p 6

[Z.Z. report]

[Text] Pristina, 6 Mar -- As has been announced, the session of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Pristina discussed a draft report on work of the organization of the League of Communists during the past 4 years.

At today's session, the Communal Committee pronounced party measures against a number of members of the League of Communists of the provincial Institute for Promoting Education and Training. The party organization in the institute was dissolved as early as June last year because of unhealthy human and intranational relations, a shortage of criticism and self-criticism, burdens imposed by personal and other interests, an uncritical attitude toward work and only a verbal acceptance of the positions of the League of Communists.

Kajtaz Pecaj, adviser for Albanian, and Muharem Dika, counselor for economic education, were expelled from the League of Communists. Party measures of last warning before expulsion were pronounced against Novica Lekic, counselor for history in Serbo-Croatian; Riza Bradi, counselor for research; Zafir Istrefi, counselor for professional training, and Pasid Godanci, counselor for geography. The party measure of a warning was also pronounced against a number of members of the League of Communists, while the communal committee decided to get down to work on setting up a basic organization of the League of Communists in the institute.

LARGE MEAT EXPORT CONTRACT SIGNED WITH USSR

AU081807 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 82 p 12

[Text] (TANJUG) -- The Generaleksport work organization yesterday signed a contract with the Soviet Prodintorg foreign trade enterprise on the delivery of meat products worth over $152 million. What is involved are this year's exports of products of the agricultural industrial combine of Vrbas, the "29 November" work organization of Subotica, the Gavrilovic work organization of Petrinja, the Mip work organization of Pozarevac, the Juhor work organization of Svetozarevo and the Emona work organization of Ljubljana.

In the course of this year, the Yugoslav producers of meat and meat products will deliver to their Soviet partners 16,000 tons of canned meat and 40,000 tons of meat, of which over 10,000 tons will be baby-beef [English term baby-beef used], for which there is increasingly greater demand. As they say in the Generaleksport work organization, this is the largest food export, and the first important "penetration" of Yugoslav baby-beef into the Soviet market.

ILLEGAL BORDER CROSSING FROM ROMANIA PREVENTED

AU082000 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 82 p 10

[R.P. report]

[Text] Kikinda, 4 Mar -- Workers of the intercommunal Secretariat of Internal Affairs in Kikinda have discovered the organizers of an illegal crossing of the Yugoslav-Romanian border. They are Italian citizen (Oliveri Marselini) and Romanian citizen Ilie Moldovan. They tried to illegally bring a group of Romanian citizens to Yugoslavia who intended later to leave our country and go to Austria and the FRG. However, inspectors of the intercommunal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Kikinda intervened at the moment when the two men tried to bring the Romanian citizens across the border.

(Marselini) and Moldovan made the plan in Italy on illegally crossing the border. Moldovan arrived in Italy from Romania by illegally crossing Yugoslavia and Austria. Their plan to illegally bring the four Romanians across the border did not go unnoticed thanks to the action of workers of the intercommunal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Kikinda.

The Kikinda Communal Court sentenced the Italian (Oliveri Marselini) to 6 months in prison and Ilie Moldovan to a 5-month prison term.

FURTHER REPORT ON HUNGARY'S BERECZ VISIT

LD051328 Budapest MTI in English 1014 GMT 5 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Mar (MTI) -- Following an invitation from the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists [LCY], Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP CC and department head in the CC, paid a visit to Yugoslavia on March 3 and 4. He was seen by Lazar Mojsov, member of the CC LCY Presidium, held talks with Vlado Janzic, executive secretary and Borislav Miloshevic, assistant secretary of the LCY CC Presidium.

During the warm and comradely discussions the sides reviewed some timely questions of the international life and the international communist and workers movement. They confirmed the conviction that the broad unity of the communist parties, of the progressive forces had especially great importance from the point of view of protecting peace and promoting social progress. The parties acknowledged with satisfaction the successful development of the many-sided cooperation of the two fraternal parties, of Hungary and Yugoslavia. They approved the 1982 and 1983 cooperation program of the HSWP and the LCY.

VRHOVEC RECEIVES THAI FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

LD052116 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1713 GMT 5 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Mar (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec today received Thailand State Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs Kasem Kasemri who is currently in Yugoslavia taking part in consultations of the two countries' foreign ministries' representatives. The ensuing talk between Vrhovec and Kasemsri, as well as separate talks of the Thai undersecretary with Acting Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Secretary Milos Melovski, focused on current questions regarding international relations and on development of bilateral relations.

GRLICKOV RETURNS FROM JAPAN VISIT 5 MARCH

LD052224 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1815 GMT 5 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Mar (TANJUG) -- Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, returned to Belgrade tonight from Japan, which he visited at the invitation of the Japanese Communist Party Central Committee. Comrade Grlickov was welcomed at Belgrade Airport by Milan Daljevic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.